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ABSTRACT

This document contains 14 papers from an annual symposium on research in adult education for African Americans and Latin Americans. Representative papers include the following: "Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Keeping the Faith and Representing the Race--From the Pulpit to Politics" (Roudell Kirkwood); "Religious Education and Slavery: Strange Bedfellows of the Antebellum South" (Garth Gabriel Gittens); "Mother Leafy Anderson: Exploring a Mystery of Native American and African Spirituality" (Janice L. Woodhouse); "Opening the Door To Make Space: A Literature Review of the Qualitative Method of Life History" (Denise L. Hatcher); "Expanding the Small Space: Rasstafari and Knowledge Production" (Cathy Stanley); "Teaching for Transformation: Student Learning through Ritual, Reggae and Literature" (Cathy S. Stanley, Derise Tolliver, and Ellen McMahon); "Border Crossings: Writing across the Boundaries of Language and Culture at Work" (Melina L. Gallo); "Community Organizing: Pedagogy of Co-Learning" (Regina Curry); "Color Is Only Skin Deep But Knowledge Production Goes to the Bone: A Counter-Story of Continuing Professional Education (CPE)" (Laurel Jeris); and "The Role of Continuing Professional Education in Lifelong Learning: The RRRR [Reflection, Reciprocal Learning, Research/Resource, and Responsibility] Method" (Catherine Brady, et al.). Papers include abstracts and references. (KC)

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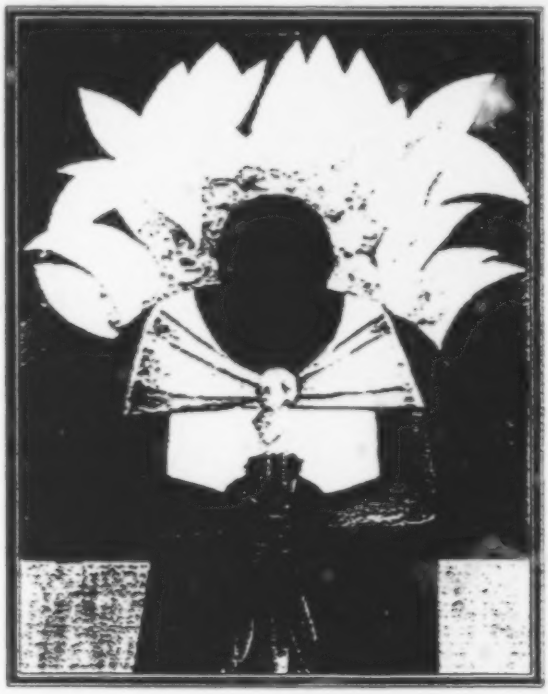
PROCEEDINGS

FOR THE
11TH ANNUAL AFRICAN AMERICAN & LATINO/A AMERICAN
ADULT EDUCATION RESEARCH SYMPOSIUM

PEOPLE OF COLOR RISING UP AND SPEAKING OUT:
OPPRESSION AND KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION



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APRIL 6, 2002

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Preface

There have been notable contributions by African and Latin American graduate students to adult education. These contributions have been both a labor of love and pride in knowledge production extending from the university to the African and Latina/o communities. As we celebrate this eleventh African American and Latina/o American Adult Education Research Symposium (AERS), it is important to critically reflect on its history and contribution to the field of adult education.

> History is a clock that people use to tell their time of day. It is a compass they use to find themselves on the map of human geography. It tells them where they are, and what they are (Dr. John Henrik Clarke).

The African American Graduate Students Adult Education Research Symposium responded to a dire need for African American graduate students to dialogue and share their knowledge and innovative research, to explore the critical issues germane to African Americans in both academic and community education settings and acknowledgments of the contributions of African Americans to the field of adult education. The following provides a brief historical overview of this research symposium.

Emerging Scholars Toward a Black Agenda in Adult Continuing Education (November 1991) marked the beginning of the African American graduate students research symposium. It was an historic occasion and the first research symposium by African American graduate students at Northern Illinois University that identified key issues in the field of adult education relevant to African American scholars and practitioners. I was proud and honored to participate and fondly remember the participation and support of African American graduate students. It was truly a heartfelt experience and participants were greatly impacted by the research and scholarship of the key speakers: Scipio Colin III, Laverne Gyant, Edwin Hamilton, Elizabeth Peterson and Jovita Ross-Gordon.

Following this historic and successful symposium, the second research symposium, **"The Black Experience: Bridging the Gap Between the Community and the University"**(October, 1992) was held. This symposium was co-sponsored by Northern Illinois University, Malcolm X College and Adult Education Research Consortium and hosted by Malcolm X College in Chicago. This research symposium highlighted the critical need to explore, analyze and discuss the contributions of the African Diaspora. The knowledge obtained had far reaching effects.

May 1993 would mark another historic event, the first national African American Adult Education Pre-Conference. The pre-conference entitled, **"A Link for Community Development and Empowerment,"** was held at Pennsylvania State University. I was among seventeen graduate students of African ancestry from the United States and Africa who presented both exciting and cutting edge research. Presentations offered a variety of paradigms and included: an historical overview and reflection upon the contributions of African Ameripean scholars; policy issues and implications; womanist perspective, a theoretical construct employed by women of African ancestry and forming linkages through culturally contextualized adult education curricula. This conference was also an exciting and affirming event.

It is noteworthy that Malcolm X College has been a staunch and notable supporter, and that all of the Adult Education Research Symposium (AERS) have been held at Malcolm X College. The symposia was later expanded to facilitate dialogue between African American and

Latin American graduate students. In April 1994 the fourth annual adult continuing education research symposium marked the collaboration of African and Latin Americans graduate students and the first African American and Latina/o American Adult Education Research Symposium. Its title, **"Crossing Cultures: A Multicultural Exchange in Adult Education Theory and Practice,"** facilitated dialogue concerning the critical issues germane to African and Latina/o Americans in academia and community settings. Sessions included learning theories, teaching approaches for African and Latina/o American students, womanist theories, Third World feminist perspectives in education and identity politics. It was a wonderful and collaborative experience.

The dialogue/discourse continued and the fifth annual adult education research symposium and the second African American and Latina/o American Adult Education Research Symposium, **"Somos Differente, Somos Uno/We Are Different, We Are One: A Critical Examination of Race, Class, and Gender in the Development of Adult Education Theory and Practice,"** was held in April 1995. The symposium was a powerful learning exchange experience and one that will be remembered for many years to come.

The sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth annual AERS and the third, fourth, fifth and sixth African American and Latina/o American Adult Education Research Symposium: **"Exploring African and Latin American Relationships: Enhancing Cooperation and Eliminating Barriers** (1996);" **"Taking Power through Self-Reliance Coalition Empowerment and Leadership Development** (1997);" **"Towards A New Self-Reliance: Strengthening the Hearts of America through Co-Ethnic Relationships** (1998);"and **"Making A Way Out of Now Way: When, Where, and How Does Adult Education Touch The Lives of Just Plain Folk? Galvanizing Extraordinary Knowledge In Ordinary Places** (2000)" expanded the knowledge base of African and Latina/o American graduate students and their respective communities. The tenth annual adult education research symposium, **"Every Voice Counts: Counting the voices of scholars on the ground, in the community and at the academy, many voices, no longer silent... . (2001),"** was an historic symposium. It addressed the contours and dimensions of knowledge with outstanding research and scholarship and reunited scholars from across the country. The eleventh annual African American Adult Education Research Symposium, **"People of Color Rising Up and Speaking Out: Oppression and Knowledge Production (2002),"**promises yet another growth and knowledge experience. As you join us in our journey and read these proceedings, remember Akili Ni Mali (knowledge means wealth). We thank you for your continued attendance and support. Remember the spirit of Sankofa!

Phyllis Ham Garth, Ed.D.
Editor

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Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr.
Keeping the Faith and Representing the Race: From the Pulpit to Politics
An Afrikana Adult Educator Extraordinare

Roudell Kirkwood

North Chicago Community High School (IL)

Abstract: Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Jr. was the son of the nationally prominent Baptist minister, Adam Clayton Powell Sr., pastor of Abyssinian Baptist Church. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. followed in his father's legacy and became the eighteenth pastor of Abysinnian. Following his emergence from the pulpit into politics, Powell Jr. also served as a member of the House of Representatives and the House Committee on Education and Labor. Additionally, he served as chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor. Under his powerful leadership, sixty major laws passed, establishing a legal precedent (still unsurpassed). This paper provides a brief overview of Abysinian Baptist Church leading to the emergence of Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Jr. from the pulpit into the political arena.

Introduction

The prestigious Abyssinian Baptist Church of Harlem, New York, under the leadership and exuberant style of the outspoken Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Sr., was described as a working class (with some members of the teaching profession and others civil servants) Afrikana church (Hamilton, 1991). Adam Clayton Powell Sr. was the seventeenth pastor of the hundred year old Abyssinian Baptist Church. As a result of his outstanding leadership, exuberant style and outspokenness, Powell Sr. gained national prominence in Afrikana church circles and served as an active member of the national board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Reverend Powell Sr. strongly believed in and encouraged self-help. Abyssinian Baptist Church was concerned not only about the spiritual well-being, but the overall well-being of its congregation. There were numerous church programs to assist its members, programs that addressed literacy and other adult learning. There were church clubs and societies that were organized specifically to address the needs of and care for the elderly, including insurance burial societies. During the mid-1920s, Abyssinian established the A. Clayton Powell Home for the Elderly. Numerous adult education programs and church clubs flourished under his tutelage at Abyssinian, including Sunday School, bible class, literacy, home economics as well as social and political awareness. The senior Powell, named pastor-for-life in 1924, pastored Abyssinian Baptist Church until 1937, when on November 1st he turned over his reign to his son, Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Jr., who became Abyssinian's eighteenth pastor.

Community protests under the leadership of Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Jr. were a common activity. Abyssinian was often the site of mass meetings featuring various speakers surrounding racial struggles and heightened political events. In 1930 Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Jr. led the Harlem Hospital Protests Committee and challenged the employment practices and racial discrimination surrounding the hiring and promotion practices of the Harlem Hospital. Reverend Powell Jr. also led the Citizens' Committee on Conditions at Harlem Hospital protest surrounding poor health care. These protests were the beginning of contemporary movements of

nonviolent social protests. Additionally, there was the Harlem Citizens' Committee for More and Better Jobs (formed in 1930 by the elder Powell and other ministers), which engaged in effective boycotts in Harlem that resulted in jobs and improved housing for all citizens of New York city. Harlem and Abyssinian Baptist Church would be the site of protests for many years, including the renowned "Jobs for Negroes Campaigns" and the Greater New York Coordinating Committee for Employment. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. continued his legacy, and for many years remained an active and an ardent supporter for racial and human justice for Afrikanas.

Emergence from the Pulpit to Politics

The younger Powell, gaining national prominence as a result of his endeavors and successful community and social protests, was launched into the political arena and had a long and distinguished public career. Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Jr. is renowned for his outstanding membership and leadership in Congress. Following a fifteen-year membership in the House of Representatives and the House Committee on Education and Labor, Adam Clayton Powell Jr. became chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor in 1961. Within a three-year period, he was responsible for the passage of significant legislation.

Powell states:

> By 1964 I had helped with the passage of several major pieces of legislation. In a personal letter to me on January 30 Speaker McCormack again thanked me for my work. He said: The 88th Congress is already a historical one because it has passed, in the field of education (1) the Higher Education Bill and (2) the Vocational Act of 1963. These two measures came out of your Committee and passed through Congress under your brilliant and courageous leadership.
>
> I am always happy when there is a Bill on the Floor of the House that has come out of your Committee because I know that, under your leadership, its chances of passage are excellent, even when it receives the 'blind opposition' of the opposite Party (Powell, 1971, p. 203).

One amendment in particular, the Powell Amendment, sought to preclude those agencies that chose to segregate from securing federal funds and set the stage for the passage of other key legislation in this vein. The historical significance of the Higher Education Academic Facilities Act (88th Congress) qualified HBCUs for additional funding from the federal government funding, and the National Defense Education Act ensured student loans for college students. By his fifth year as chairman, sixty major laws had been passed. President Lyndon B. Johnson sent Powell a letter of appreciation.

THE WHITE HOUSE March 18, 1966

Dear Adam:

The fifth anniversary of your Chairmanship of the House Education and Labor Committee reflects a brilliant record of accomplishment.

It represents the successful reporting to the Congress of 49 pieces of bedrock legislation. And the passage of every one of these bills attests to your ability to get things done.

Even now, these laws which you so effectively guided through the House are finding abundant reward in the lives of our people.

The poverty program is rapidly paving new pathways to progress for those whom the economic vitality of this land had previously bypassed.

The education measures are being translated into fuller opportunities for all our citizens to develop their God-given talents to their fullest potential.

Minimum wage, long a guarantee of a fair return for an honest day's work, has been increased and greatly extended.

And the problem of juvenile delinquency are being met and curtailed by positive and determined action.

Only with progressive leadership could so much have been accomplished by one Committee in so short a time. I speak for the millions of Americans who benefit from these laws when I say that I am truly grateful.

Sincerely yours,
LYNDON B. JOHNSON

(Powell, 1971, p. 204)

Abyssinian Baptist Church's Adam Clayton Powell Jr. was truly a power broker. An abundance of crucial legislation, laws encompassing human rights, employee wages, education, youth and the elderly were passed as a direct result of his leadership in Congress. The following presents a partial list of the numerous laws that were enacted due to and during the chairmanship of Adam Clayton Powell Jr.:

Public Law	Title
87-22	Amending vocational education laws to include and help practical-nurse-training programs
87-30	Increasing the coverage of minimum-wage legislation to include retail clerks, also increasing the minimum wage to $1.25
87-87	Increased benefits for longshoremen and harbor workers
87-262	Establishes a teaching hospital for Howard University; transfers Freedmen's Hospital to Howard University
87-274	The Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act
87-344	Extension of the laws providing funds for school construction and maintenance in Federally impacted areas
87-339	Amending the Federal Employee's Compensation Act
87-400	Amending the National Defense Education Act regarding student loans
87-415	The Manpower Development and Training Act, making more jobs available.
87-581	The Work Hours Act of 1962, establishing standards for pay and work of laborers and mechanics
87-715	Educational and training films for the deaf
87-729	Amending the Manpower Development and Training Act regarding railroad and unemployment Insurance
88-38	Equal pay for equal work

89-313 Providing for assistance in construction and operation of public elementary and secondary schools in areas affected by major disaster

89-329 Strengthening the educational resources of our colleges and universities; and financial assistance to the students

89-751 Higher Education Act of 1966 (Powell, 1971, pp. 204-205)

Abyssinian Baptist Church actively encouraged its members to engage in self-help programs, and one of these self-help programs within the church under Reverend Powell Jr. was historic and culminated into a viable credit union. Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Jr. advocated for continuing education and vocational training courses for non-traditional Afrikana students from urban areas. He advocated adult education programs that considered the lived experiences of urban Afrikanas. He sought to enhance the employability of Afrikanas and emphasized the importance of general education and technology courses. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. was a champion of "Black Power." In fact, Alexander (1985) cites Powell as "an educational program developer," "the Father of Modern Black Power Movements," and "exemplar of self-help black political education" (p. 134). Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Jr. strongly believed in the dignity, pride and heritage of Afrikanas and espoused "Power to the People," and utilized the political arena to secure learning and employment opportunities for Afrikanas.

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STANDING ON THE SHOULDERS OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AND THE PULLMAN PORTERS: THE CURRENT STRUGGLE FOR AUTHENTIC REPRESENTATION OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN CULTURAL HISTORY

Lyn Hughes and Phyllis Cunningham

Cultural Workers

Abstract: This paper traces the history of the Pullman District that includes both South and North Pullman. Although the line dividing the community is invisible it is nonetheless invisibly visible. George M. Pullman developed this "company town" in the late 19th century for the purpose of building Pullman Palace railroad sleeping cars. The monopolistic venture also included the legendary Pullman Porters and Maids recruited from the most educated, recently freed slaves. Both the black and white laborers working for Pullman made history. The Pullman strike by the railway union composed of white workers gained notoriety due to the government's action, mobilizing the National Guard against the union. Unionism in the U.S. was never the same after 1894. A. Philip Randolph, on the other hand, became famous as the person organizing the first African-American labor union and the initiator of the "march on Washington" strategy.

Introduction

This racial battle that began in the 1920s' with the Pullman Company has carried over through time to the year 2002. It is evidenced by the racial battle between the black and white populations within what is now the remnant of the original town of Pullman.

> We are creatures of history, for every historical epoch has its roots in a preceding epoch. The black militants of today are standing upon the shoulders of the New Negro radicals of my day, the twenties, thirties, and forties. We stood upon the shoulders of the civil rights fighters of the Reconstruction era, and they stood upon the shoulders of the black abolitionists. These are the interconnections of history, and they play their role in the course of development. (A. Phillip Randolph in Bates, 2001, p. 1).

The company town of Pullman exists today in much the same way as it did in the mid-1800s with its row houses, the Hotel Florence, wheel works, the Greenstone church, the only remaining original firehouse, clock tower and administrative buildings. Once located on over a hundred acres of land just outside of Chicago, it has contracted to its core now known as Pullman, North Pullman, and South Pullman. The contestation between North and South Pullman is one that A. Phillip Randolph would have easily identified. For even as Randolph saw himself and the New Negro's standing on the shoulders of reconstruction, civil rights workers and they, on the shoulders of the black abolitionists, Lyn Hughes stands on the shoulders of Randolph and the Pullman Porters as she wages a battle for the community and her own right to celebrate African-American cultural history.

During the 1960s South Pullman, an almost all white community, secured the National, State and City recognition as an Historic Landmark. However, the designation was coterminous

with the racial division in housing. When North Pullman, an almost all black community initiated a similar action, a situation emerged pitting the economically less well off North Pullman group against the well-established South Pullman group. Though there has been a silent stand off over the last dozen or so years between the two groups, an active dispute was engendered when North Pullman's plans for developing a cultural complex at the old firehouse was Federally funded in the amount of $2 million dollars. This dispute with South Pullman will be documented, including their engagement with the city alderman and the political system; the counter resistance of the North Pullman group and the subsequent support of the community through the Nehemiah Restoration Coalition, a group of Black churches.

The methodology includes an historical account of the sequence of events since the 1960s and a personal chronology by Lyn Hughes, the cultural worker who emerged, not only as the architect of historic preservation of black history on the far south side of Chicago, but who introduced the idea of cultural tourism into the community. We will document how this black cultural project, once it exhibited its robustness, engendered resistance by the political and economic structures of the predominantly White South Pullman. It is a current example of complicity by the dominant society in using the public legal and bureaucratic structures against weaker marginalized groups.

History

In 1989, Lyn Hughes, a Cincinnati native, a recently divorcee and a single mother of three children, moved to Chicago's Hyde Park community. Lyn began looking for real estate investment opportunities as a means to support her family. During her property research, Lyn learned about the Pullman Historic District on the city's far south side. As she researched the area's rich history, she became inspired by the story of A. Philip Randolph and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP).

During the peak of America's railroad industry, in the 1920s and 30s, there were an estimated 20,000 black Pullman porters, maids and other railroad personnel, making this the largest category of African-American labor in the United States and Canada at that time. For years, the Pullman Porters worked aboard the Pullman Palace luxury train cars attending to the needs of the train passengers under conditions that would never be tolerated today. However, under the leadership and determination of A. Philip Randolph, the BSCP union was established. The BSCP made enormous sacrifices to gain the right to unite, they struggled together for 12 years to become the first African-American labor union to successfully negotiate a collective bargaining agreement with a major U.S. corporation. In other words it was the first African American labor union established in the U.S. (Bates, 2001).

Within a year of finding the Pullman community, Hughes was on her way to helping rebuild community pride by introducing the unfamiliar concept of cultural heritage tourism in the northern half of the Pullman Historic District, which had suffered 20 years of economic decline. Though she had no formal background or experience in historic preservation or museum operations, she believed in the power of urban historic preservation and cultural tourism as tools to raise public awareness.

Lyn's Journey in Her Own Voice

I started on this journey that ironically ended up being like the Brotherhood, one that also lasted twelve years. It was one that I thought was to develop real estate. But God had another plan. When I began development in the Historic North Pullman community, founding a museum wasn't even an idea. After introducing the idea of Cultural Heritage tourism to the community, I was

forced by a power greater than mine to focus on developing the museum. The museum is the only one of its kind nationally with a permanent collection of materials celebrating the Pullman Historic District, the Great Migration, Pullman Porters, A. Philip Randolph, the American Civil Rights Movement and the American Labor History. I discovered I had a knack for persuading others to join in supporting this goal - including Illinois state leaders, who sponsored the first grant in 1994, establishing the A. Philip Randolph Pullman Porter Museum. I am always amazed by God whom I sometimes take for granted. I think that we all think of the plans we have as being ours. More often than not, I think that we forget the roads that we travel are predestined.

1990 Looking for real estate investment opportunities, I stumbled upon the Pullman community. After acquiring the first property, my research revealed the community was a part of a national and state historic district. I made the decision that a community organization was needed so I formed the Historic North Pullman (HNP) community organization. Founders were Lyn Hughes, Clara Jones, Wilma Margerum, Dorothy Roberts, Mildred Sykes and Norma Hines. HNP was the first African-American community group to be established in the Pullman community. Prior to establishment of this group, there had been several unsuccessful attempts to organize in the community through block clubs. From 1990 to 1992 I ran the organization unpaid part-time.

Ultimately, I made operating the organization my full-time job and my salary was paid through the small grants I wrote. The co-founders of the organization all worked except Mildred Sykes and they volunteered when they could. This bold new action on behalf of residents from the northern half of the historic Pullman community attracted the attention of both the electronic and print media on a consistent basis. Unfortunately, and without realizing it, the organization and I personally had just begun a journey down a road where our efforts apparently were neither welcomed nor respected.

Beginning with door-to-door canvassing of the community, the founding group of five community residents and me as newcomer began the work. The physical conditions of the community were numerous abandoned buildings, vacant lots filled with abandoned cars; car parts and garbage were as far as the eyes could see. The first order of business was to attempt to raise the awareness of community residents enough to come together to discuss the conditions in the community. This was a tall order.

When the economic base (in this case the steel mills) leaves the community, homeowners don't have the funds to keep their property in good condition. The quality of life becomes the worse possible situation. Homeowners who can, give up and move out of the community, renting the property to low income families willing to live in the existing conditions because it is all they can afford.

By stark contrast five blocks away in the same community where the resident population is 95% white, the conditions are quite different. First, the residents, many of whom are professional people such as city planners, architects and preservationists, are aware that they live in an historic district, and take great pride in that fact. So much so that in 1967 when a portion of the community was threatened to be demolished by a developer for new construction, they organized and accomplished the following:

1) Formed a civic community group, the Pullman Civic Organization and, the Historic Pullman Foundation; 2) Raised awareness about the community; 3) Canvassed the entire community including the northern half of the community that was 95% African American to acquire their required support to obtain federal and state historic designation for the community; and 4) Took control of all but one of the community's

large public buildings, two of which were located in the northern half of the community.

A few years later (about 1970) the group mobilized again, securing City of Chicago landmark designation. However, it was only for the southern half of the community. Shortly after this, the groups obtained a very large federal grant from the U.S. Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to rehab one of the community's largest buildings into condominiums. This building was located in the northern half of the community. A very important footnote to this process is, that while these steps were taking place, public resources and technical assistance were being garnered exclusively to assist the southern half of the community. By now many of the residents of the northern half of the community had figured out what had occurred and became very resentful, feeling that they had been used.

Twenty years had passed and the northern half of the community has experienced consistent decline. Now comes a new face in the community knocking on their door excited and enthusiastic asking them if they were aware that they lived in a historic district. The residents are hearing the same script they had heard twenty years before only now the face they are hearing it from is black. Needless to say hostility and distrust was natural.

HNP founders had no experience, no funds, no professional expertise nor backing of community residents but were still willing to take on the task. The first step was to get the city to become interested, starting with Streets and Sanitation. Letters were written to the City of Chicago with no response. After no response the group began to make calls to the city. We were told that we should address a letter requesting that someone from Streets and Sanitation attend our next community meeting. Out of frustration and with a lack of politically correct savvy, HNP's response to the then sitting commissioner was that the community had done all that was required. Additionally, the community needed someone who could take action, someone who could come and make a decision. In this same year we petitioned the city of Chicago Landmark Commission to request that the northern half of the community be added to the existing city historic designation 1992. The City of Chicago supported community efforts to hire a consultant to work with them to develop a redevelopment plan. With the assistance of Lynn Von Dreele of the Community Workshop on Economic Development (CWED) and Sidney Langston, over a three month period, interested community residents met at the Christ Community Church, East 103rd Street, across from Wendell Smith School. Community residents who attended the meetings ultimately voted on what they wanted to see happen.

The plan was completed and presented at Olive-Harvey College. It was decided that the only community organization representing the African American population would go to work and attempt to carry out the plans. Among those things decided were:

·Development of a small park for younger children
·Development of cultural institutions representing African American interests
·Speed bumps on residential streets
·Rehab program for the existing housing stock

1993 The city's response to our 1990 request to be included in the historic district was that the South Pullman residents collectively refused to support the inclusion of North Pullman into the existing designation. Therefore, working with Tim Barton of the city of Chicago's Landmarks Commission, a separate district would be established. It would be called North Pullman Historic District.

1994 I began a grant writing campaign in order to gain the required resources to begin the work needed in the community and to carry out the work identified in the 1992 plan. The first

items would be to develop a museum, a cultural center and establish a mural at 103rd Street and Cottage Grove. The three grants written in 1994 were funded; however, only the grant for the park and the museum were released. The grant for two million dollars, written to develop the cultural center, was not released. However, to move forward on the plans, HNP was able legally to borrow money from the local bank in anticipation of their ability to repay based upon forthcoming grant funds.

During this time HNP established the first public private partnership for job creation in the community with Morrison Knudsen (the last company to make railcars in Pullman) and Olive-Harvey College. This resulted in the training and employment of 300 persons throughout the Roseland and Pullman Community. This very substantial partnership with such positive results encouraged us and cemented a growing reputation for getting things done.

1995 My innovative thoughts on urban historic preservation linking tourism and education is widely respected within the preservation and the tourism industry. In 1994, I published an article on the subject. In 1995, I was one of 17 African-Americans selected nationally among a group of 3,500 delegates attending the White House Conference on Travel and Tourism. It is my belief that in many communities across the United States the opportunity exists to utilize culture and urban historic preservation as new tools to spawn economic development in communities of color. This activity can create sustainable economic activity and give birth to entrepreneurship and small business development.

In 1995, on faith, I founded the museum. I know there is something bigger than all of us that has made all of this possible, there has to be. There have been too many obstacles thrust in my path seemingly certain to stop the effort. For example, false accusations designed to discredit the organization and its leadership were made and leaked to the print media with the express purpose to derail the projects. This resulted in lack of financial support to handle day-to-day operations. I want to share these things because there may be someone who might have an idea and is afraid to step out on that idea. I say don't step out on the idea, step out on faith.

We had no money for marketing, publicity or staff, but I used funds that my construction company made to hire staff. Because it was unique for African-Americans to be doing what is referred to as historic preservation, we got lots of publicity. There were a lot of people who were not happy that we were receiving so much attention in light of the fact that individuals who had been in the community for years who had received money, but had not accomplished what we did with a little money and very little help. That is when the attacks began.

The first accusation appearing in the media was that "the $2 million dollars allocated for the cultural center had been embezzled by me and that I had had houses built in the Bahamas and in Hyde Park." While the accusation was false, because the funds had never been released, it was still in the newspaper. People didn't seem to care or know that it wasn't true. The accusation served its purpose. The result was that the funds of the first grant were frozen while the project was in progress. The fallout was several lawsuits because of HNP's inability to pay contractors and vendors.

1996 We developed plans for large scale historic rehab partnering with the National Trust for Historic Preservation, HUD and the city of Chicago's Department of Housing. The fall out from the 1995 action was still adversely affecting the group's operation and our ability to obtain funds from any source. This was compounded by the fact that the South Pullman contingent was able to use their influence with the National Trust regional office through Michael Matts to sabotage their newfound interest in our work.

1997 Fourth quarter, HNP receives funds bequeathed in a will. While the amount received was substantial ($100,000); it was not enough to pull the organization out of the financial hole they were in.

1998 First quarter, a lawsuit was filed against HNP by the Historic Pullman Foundation, the organization from South Pullman, alleging that the funds received by HNP should have come to them. Even though we had a copy of the person's will that clearly stated the name of our organization, news headlines gave the impression that the HNP organization and I had done something questionable. This further chipped away at our credibility and all but destroyed the organization.

This was also the year we realized that the work ahead required more than one organization. In addition to the preservation and civic organizations, another entity, a CDC (community development corporation) was needed. To carry out the brick and mortar plans, North Pullman Development Corporation was formed. Its first project was to be the development of the cultural center at the Firehouse at 108th Street and Cottage Grove initially conceived in the 1992 redevelopment strategy developed by the community residents. At the same time, because of the financial condition of the HNP, its board made the decision not to proceed with the plans for the large-scale rehab and the new homes development. A $350,000 lawsuit filed against HNP and me personally by the proposed partner in that project further complicated operations. The organization did not have the financial means to hire legal assistance to fight the case and a default judgment was made. This lawsuit lingered until September 2001 when it was dismissed by the Court and never came to trial.

A major blow came in 1998 when the offices of HNP, and an adjacent property, which was under construction with an investment of $216,000 and my home, were all destroyed by arson. This was the final nail in the coffin of HNP. Although I requested an investigation, it proved unsuccessful. No one was arrested for the arson.

While Historic North Pullman, the first organization we founded, no longer exists, the work that was done by that organization still impacts this community, as detailed below:

·Organized the music festival at Gately Park
·Established tree planning and planter boxes at Gately Park
·Provided for park benches at Gately Park
·Brought the first carnival to Gately Park
·Established tennis lessons at Corliss
·Made it possible for several residents to become homeowners
·Developed Tots Park on Corliss
·Established the A. Philip Randolph Pullman Porter Museum
*Developed the initial plans for the pending Firehouse Cultural Complex

1999 HNP disposed of all remaining assets and ceased doing business. Since 1999 my focus has been concentrated on developing the museum and its programs. We are funded by revenue from visitors and special programs and our Traveling Exhibit. The museum is small and not conducive to hosting large events inside. That is why the events we host during the summer take place in outside in tents.

The leadership of the museum recognized that the lack of revenue-generating program space was a detriment. The determination was made that the museum warranted expansion. However, at the existing location expansion is not possible. The museum exhausted relocation possibilities. The leadership of the museum began discussions with the Board of Directors of North Pullman Development Corporation (NPDC), regarding the possibility of the museum

relocating to the pending firehouse Cultural Center location. The decision was made that the museum would join the cultural center at the firehouse. This would create an African-American Railroad Labor History Museum-based Cultural Complex, located in the Historic Pullman community. The collaborators decided upon a name for the complex, The A. Philip Randolph Museum Complex.

2000 This Cultural Complex at the firehouse was made possible through a grant proposal submitted to the Federal government in 1994 under the Intermodal Surface Transportation Enhancement Act (ISTEA) program. However, only a portion of that two million dollars has been released and that wasn't until 1999. The firehouse property is owned by the not-for profit North Pullman Development Corporation who inherited the responsibility of developing the complex. This is because the grant funds earmarked for the development of the cultural center follow the property not an organization.

The leadership of both organizations, North Pullman Development and the A. Philip Randolph, are working together on the program plans to be implemented once the building is complete. The plan was produced through Studio Rotan of Atlanta, Georgia with a team of consultants, two of whom are Chicagoans, Russell Lewis, of the Chicago Historical Society, Gwendolyn Robinson, Ph.D., former director of DuSable Museum and Renee Kemp-Rotan, Chief of Urban Design and Urban Development for the city of Atlanta, in collaboration with myself.

The community of Pullman is most recently known for the widely publicized Clock Tower property, owned by the state of Illinois. A twenty-five member planning task force was established to develop a vision centered on the Clock Tower. A plan focused on capturing tourism dollars is currently being developed for the Pullman community. While the firehouse cultural complex project is not a part of the State plans' focus, our proposed complex is located two blocks north of the state owned property (the Pullman factory and Clock Tower). The plans for the A. Philip Randolph Museum Cultural Complex complements the multi-million dollar plans the city of Chicago and the State of Illinois have for the Pullman Historic District. The new facility will no doubt benefit from the state's efforts, and can only enhance the overall plans for development of the Pullman District.

2001 However, there are those who, for whatever reasons, have made it their campaign to discredit and destroy the work done by myself and those committed residents mentioned. Up to this very day, there is a plan underway to keep the Cultural Center from ever materializing. There is an intent to cause the existing museum to close, by starting new defamatory rhetoric against me personally and the cultural work I have done. There is an attempt to trick and confuse the public, trying to connect HNP, the organization that no longer exists, and the problems it had to the Cultural Complex. While I have no legal ties with them I will continue to support NPDC and I encourage you to support them as well. Community residents should be mindful that one of the oldest tricks in the book is to divide and conquer.

I hope that the information I have provided will better help you understand and serve to inform you of all the work and struggle that has occurred in the Pullman community by African Americans. Think about it; race matters.

Analysis

On February 5, 2002, the SHOWTIME film, *10,000 Black Men Named George*, a story of the Pullman Porters, premiered in Chicago. It was meant to be a fundraiser for the APR Pullman Porter Museum, however no funds were raised. Celebrities like Andre Braugher were

there but the sponsors were concerned with the rumors passed on to the national A. Philip Randolph Institute's President Norman Hill, Herb Cooper and James Bryant. Alderman Beale allegedly told them several unfounded allegations against both the Museum and Lyn Hughes (Conversation/Museum's attorney, 2001). He indicated to them that Hughes was discredited and that nothing would be done about releasing the grant for the Cultural Complex until she had no part in it. He further asserted to James Bryant of the San Francisco APRI that the South Pullman group was prepared to support him politically as long as he kept Hughes out of Pullman. At another time, Alderman Beale told these national figures that the city was planning to take over the firehouse property under eminent domain. This information made the corporate sponsor of the fundraiser, American Family Insurance, uncomfortable enough to recuse itself of hosting the event scheduled for February 5, 2002.

Hughes has been systematically isolated and demeaned by the Alderman, and allegedly by some of the leadership in South Pullman, and because of these allegations distanced by groups like the National Trust for Historic Preservation specifically through Michael Matts from the Chicago office. Groups like these, who are supportive of black history and cultural and historic preservation, are a powerful leveraging tool for groups like North Pullman and the A. Philip Randolph Pullman Porter Museum.

What is the record? Hughes 1) mobilized the community to clean up the neighborhood and devised plans for their future; 2) organized and implemented a job creation project for 300 residents; 3) served as a Delegate to the White House Conference on Travel and Tourism; 4) developed the idea for a black cultural center that would be tied to economic development through cultural tourism; 5) took leadership in developing and managing the A. Philip Randolph Museum; 6) developed videos with Pullman Porters now living in Chicago; 7) developed and implemented a traveling exhibit on A. Philip Randolph and the Pullman Porters that was sent to several major cities; 8) wrote and obtained several grants to fund the development of the cultural work in North Pullman; 9) established a Pullman Porter National Historic Registry of African-American Railroad Employees; 10) served as advisor to SHOWTIME on the original film, *10,000 Black Men Named George.*

What Has She Done Wrong?

Allegedly, she accepted a $100,000 check not meant for the now defunct Historic North Pullman organization. **Fact:** The check was made payable to HNP and sent to them. The lawsuit was dismissed. **Allegedly,** she has embezzled grant funds. **Fact:** There are no specifics and no evidence to support this allegation. It is important to note that the $2 million dollars has never been released. However, repetition has kept this rumor alive. **Allegedly**, she is an arsonist working against her self-interest. **Fact:** Clearly there has been arson in both North and South Pullman in the same time period. However, the arson that demolished her home and all of her and her children's possessions was crushing to her and the HNP financially. Her home was not fully insured and remains unlivable--both she and her children escaped harm only because of extraordinary good luck. **Fact:** Hughes is now a renter and has had to move for her own safety. She has lost all of her personal investment and the arson contributed to putting HNP out of business. **Allegedly,** she defaulted on an agreement with her joint venture partner, Triplo Development, which resulted in a $291,334 lawsuit filed against her. **Fact:** Triplo was to bring the bank to the table as their share in the partnership once the grant had been approved. When those funds weren't there, then the project had to be cancelled. No work was done by Triplo nor did they make any financial investment toward development of the project. The Board of

Directors saw no way to recover from these losses. This lawsuit and the fire loss became the final straw to cause HNP to dissolve. Although the suit was ultimately dismissed, it did not occur until September of 2001.

What faces Hughes is a hostile group in South Pullman with strong influential ties to city government and a hostile Alderman. Further, her allies, such as the APR Institute and the American Family Insurance Company, have lost faith in her based on unproven allegations. The press has been ambivalent--a featured cover story featuring Lyn Hughes and the A Philip Randolph Pullman Porter Museum, extolling their virtues appeared in INDIGO; allegations against her were prominently featured in the DAILY SOUTHTOWN (Indigo, 2002; Konkol, 2002). It was clear that the reporter's story confused readers by distorting the truth and tying Lyn Hughes to the firehouse which is owned by a completely separate corporation, North Pullman Development Corporation. The reporter, Mark Konkol, admitted to Hughes that all of the information provided to him verbally and written had been given to him by certain individuals in the Department of Planning led by the City's liaison for the Clock Tower project, Brian Goekin, in conjunction with Alderman Beale (Konkol, 2/25/02). Further that the Alderman had indicated that he would not give the okay to release the grant funds as long as Lyn Hughes was heading the project (Konkol, 2002).

Most recently, a group of south side churches banding together under the name, the Nehemiah Restoration Coalition, invited Hughes to give them her story. Nehemiah set up a meeting with Alderman Beale to also get his side first hand. The Alderman refused to discuss the case stating "it was under litigation and that a meeting had already been called by the City on March 7, 2002 with the NPDC Board." The President of NPDC was in the room and denied being notified by phone or mail. As Reverend Al Sampson, Chair of Nehemiah's Economic Development Committee, then said to Beale, "It isn't right to have a Black man stopping a Black woman from working on Black history and culture in our own community (Nehemiah, 2002)." The Alderman did not respond then but later he was quoted as saying, "there will be a Black cultural center, it will be Black owned, Black operated and Black built---this is a part of the struggle of African-Americans -- we will make sure this gets through" (Daily Southtown, Feb. 26, 2001). The irony of all this is that it appears that the Alderman is not privy to what appears to be the big picture. There is evidence that some would like to destroy the Cultural Center in order to incorporate the concept into the proposed larger facility planned for development just three blocks away. The evidence can be found in the Concept Plan distributed by the City of Chicago and State of Illinois. The document indicates a plan to incorporate the Black labor story into the proposed development. The Alderman is in reality a pawn, as he apparently is ready to exert his political power to take control of a property that is non-government owned property, and in some unknown manner, place it under the control of another organization. There has been no mention of the property owner, their rights or their plans, only personal attacks on Hughes, a total disrespect for her work (ignoring the fact that the work has received national recognition), and a threatened display of abuse of political power.

What does this story say to adult educators working in the community? To us it says that cultural work is potent--that cultural work can bring forth strong, powerful efforts to either promote or destroy it. There was little concern when Hughes' goal was to clean up North Pullman or even when she received small grants to beautify the area or to rehab a house as a place for a museum. It was when Hughes linked economic development to cultural tourism, when national publicity extolled the cultural work that she had accomplished, when Hillary Clinton wouldn't come to Pullman unless Hughes and the museum were included in her visit and

when Hughes' efforts resulted in a two million dollar grant to develop the Cultural center that negative allegations followed negative allegations. When cultural work disturbs extant power relationships, one can expect resistance from those who now exercise power. Hughes, a Black woman had mobilized the Black community to take charge of their own history and to rescue it from the silent structures of white history. Thus we learn two principles here: first, you must decide what your role will be in your work--do you stay within the social constructions now in place or do you challenge them? Second, if you do challenge what exists, what is your responsibility to those who want to work with you? The road may get very rocky.

Lyn Hughes challenged the power relationships in Pullman, in the Ward, and in society. She has been made to pay personally and professionally. Another cultural worker in South Chicago, a short distance from Pullman, in this same period was shot to death for his success in mobilizing community workers in using photography to rid their community of crack houses. After his death, the city named a street after Arnold Morales but for those of us who worked with him, it was a grim reminder that educating the community in a critical way can be hazardous.

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A Strong Arctic Wind: An Historical Overview of the Relationships of Afrikana and Euroamerican Women from Woman Suffrage to Feminism

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Abstract: This research (an excerpt of a larger body of knowledge, Africentric Feminism Versus Euroamerican Feminism) provides a historical narrative that contextualizes the pattern of conflictual relations between Afrikana and Euroamerican women over the issue of race and or racism that continues to plague their relationships today. Therefore, this paper situates the relationships of Afrikana and Euroamerican women in historical context within Woman Suffrage and Feminism.

Introduction

Historically, the climate of relations among Afrikana and Euroamerican women has been fraught with conflict over issues of race and or Euroamerican women's racism. There have been and continue to be inherent difficulties pertaining to attempts by Afrikana women to coalesce with Euroamerican women. Afrikana women, historically have sought the alliance of Euroamerican women in their struggle for emancipation. However, for the most part, Euroamerican women did not provide Afrikana women an alliance, unless of course, it was efficient to do so (timely inclusiveness) and met Euroamerican women's objectives. In fact, there is a historical pattern of conflict between the two groups that is deeply embedded in racism.

Yee (1992) contends that a close examination of the abolitionist movement provides an arena for understanding the complex dynamics of race and gender as simultaneously and inextricably interwoven in the lives of Afrikana women. In fact, it was within the abolitionist movement that free Afrikana women laid the foundation for a distinct pattern of activism which was evident throughout the Abolitionist Movement, Woman Suffrage, and the Civil Rights Movement. However, the racial climate that prevailed caused attempts by Afrikana women to form a platform in coalition with Euroamerican women to become an illusive dream.

Race/Racism in the Abolition/Anti-Slavery Movement

Lerner (1979) provides an historical perspective of Afrikana and Euroamerican women in interaction and confrontation, and asserts that "historically in the U.S. setting there is more evidence of tension than sisterhood" (p. xxix). There is a history of friction among Afrikana and Euroamerican women that has resulted in this recurring pattern attributed to Euroamerican women negating the realities and implications of racism. Lerner posits that the discrimination against Afrikana women was always more severe than any other group in society (U.S.). While Euroamerican women were ignorant of their inferior status, they indirectly shared in both the status privileges and the racist attitudes of their men. These shared privileges were at the expense of enslaved Afrikana women. Euroamerican women have always been able to align themselves with Euroamerican men and the values and beliefs of the dominant culture. This privileged relationship of Euroamerican women to Euroamerican men produced racial conflict in the Abolition/Anti-Slavery Movement (also in the Suffrage Movement). In fact, it is important to note that many Euroamerican women's involvement was not motivated by altruism, but

dissatisfaction regarding their position in society. This is evidenced by the racist behavior exhibited by Euroamerican women in their interactions with Afrikana women.

The 1830s brought the organization of the first interracial abolitionist societies. However, with rare exception, these organizations actively discriminated and did not allow mass participation of Afrikanas. The abolitionist activism of middle class and well-to-do Euroamerican women reflected that they were not interested in the liberation of Afrikana people, but rather their own discontentment. As a direct result, their activism was utilized specifically to meet their own agenda.

In February, 1832, Mary A. Batts, Dorothy C. Batts, Charlene Bell, and Eleanor C. Harvey, a group of middle class Afrikana women founded the first women's anti-slavery society in the United States, the Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society (initially known as the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Salem) in Salem, Massachusetts. Their organization addressed the needs and welfare of the Afrikana community. (The organization later became a racially mixed organization in 1834 and abolition became its primary objective.) Many Afrikana women actively participated in both all-Afrikana female antislavery societies (such as the aforementioned), and racially mixed societies. However, Yee (1992) attributes pervasive racism and race prejudice as creating formidable barriers that precluded full and equal cooperation between Afrikanas and Euroamericans. Afrikanas were relegated to secondary status within the abolitionist movement. Many Euroamerican abolitionists maintained a myopic vision of abolitionist goals, and excluded Afrikanas from "all-white" organizations. Even within racially-mixed organizations, Afrikanas were forced to sit in separate seating. "Thus declarations of 'sisterhood' between free and slave women were, for the most part, anti-slavery rhetoric that was true only on an individual level" (Yee, 1992, p. 6).

The tenacity of racism limited the possibility of "sisterhood." For example, when Euroamerican women of the New York Society excluded Afrikana women, they still proclaimed a "sisterhood" between themselves and enslaved women. However, Yee (1992) espouses that the lived experiences of Afrikana women reflect the contradictions between rhetoric and reality in the quest for equality.

She purports:

> white feminist-abolitionists had proclaimed a sisterhood between themselves and Black women, likening their own oppression to that of the slave and using as a favorite rhetorical device the image of the Black woman as a victim of double oppression--but white women, as a group, could not always be trusted to evaluate their own complicity in racism or even to understand Black women's concerns. In fact, only a few white women had publicly addressed the problem of racism among white reformers (1992, p. 136).

Another example of the tenacity of racism by Euroamerican women concerns the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Fall River (an "all-white" organization) in Fall River, Massachusetts. Many of its members did not mind that Afrikana women attended the meetings, but believed that to accept them as members would mean accepting them as social equals. As a result, there was dissension and dramatic tension. These Euroamerican women did not ascribe to racial equality or social integration. Given these experiences, Afrikana women fed up with the pervasive racism, no longer concerned themselves with changing the racial attitudes of Euroamericans. Rather, they began to advocate separatism and promoted self-help, self-sufficiency developing independent, self-reliant, free Afrikana communities. Afrikana women due to the nature of

racism, did not separate from their men. They worked with Afrikana men due to their common commitment to advance equality for the entire race. However, because women generally were confined to "a woman's place," Afrikana women's participation within public activism was construed as overstepping the boundaries of "respectable" womanhood, defying both deference and humility as expected by Euroamericans (Giddings, 1984).

Yee stresses that Afrikana women's activism "carried important implications for sexual dynamics within their communities, defying both racist laws and customs meant to keep Blacks illiterate and submissive and racial and gender boundaries helping to define acceptable behavior in nineteenth-century American free society" (1992, p. 112). Also, it is noteworthy that Afrikana women were courageous in the face of hostility, for they were subjected to greater danger than Afrikana men and Euroamerican abolitionists due to those who possessed anti-Afrikana and anti-abolitionist, not to mention anti-women speaking in public sentiments.

During 1832, the Afric-American Intelligence Society of Boston, a group founded in 1831 by free Women of Color, active in abolition, who espoused a moral commitment to the education of Afrikana women and the diffusion of knowledge, dared to sponsor a young abolitionist's speech. That abolitionist was an Afrikana woman, Maria Stewart, who was born free. She was the first American born woman of any race to give public speeches and leave texts of her addresses (Gidding, 1984).

Giddings asserts:

> Stewart articulated the precepts upon which the future activism of Black women would be based...emerged a distinct ethos which underlined Black women's activism for generations to come...suffused Black women with a tenacious feminism, which was articulated before that of Whites like Sarah Grimke, who is credited with providing the first rationale for American women's political activism (1984, pp. 50, 52).

As Afrikana women struggled to abolish the institution of slavery and racial oppression, they engaged in community-building, political organizing, and forging a network of personal and professional friendships with other activists. Yee (1992) contends that this was central to the lived experiences of Afrikana female abolitionists. In essence, their political activism evolved from community-building in a supportive environment.

Willie Mae Coleman (1982) provides a critical analysis of Afrikana women and their perspectives relative to the struggle of racial oppression and the suppression of women during both Anti-Slavery and Woman Suffrage Movements. Her research reveals that Afrikana women made a conscious decision not to separate themselves from combatting racism and actively fighting for and pursuing women's rights. As a result of their involvement in the antislavery movement, questions emerged that led to the fight for women's rights evolving into women obtaining the vote. Even those Afrikana women born into affluency during this era did not alienate themselves from the political and social issues that impacted Afrikana people and Afrikana women. Whether Afrikana women were from a privileged background or not, they called the woman question within Afrikana organizations and not unlike today, it was also them who pushed the issue of race and kept it alive within the Euroamerican female anti-slavery organizations.

During the years, 1835 and 1836, the American Anti-Slavery Society began petitioning the abolishment of slavery which served a dual purpose, educating Congress and the public. (The American Anti-Slavery Society was founded in 1833 by William Lloyd Garrison (its

president for twenty-three years), a staunch abolitionist and publisher of "The Liberator" (1831). The American Anti-Slavery Society demanded the immediate outlawing of slavery and the immediate emancipation of all slaves. It was described as a very powerful organization, but a divisive force, due to its extremism.) When Congress instituted the "gag rule" (antislavery petitions were tabled with no further action), it caused abolitionists to campaign for free speech, broadening the base of their antislavery movement. The activities of women were vital to the antislavery movement. However, the "woman question" which was always a controversial debate, caused a division in the American Anti-Slavery Society. As a result of their exposure to antislavery activities, denigrating treatment by some male abolitionists, and the pervasive criticism, women were fully cognizant of their subordinate position, not only in the male-dominated antislavery societies, but in the larger society as well.

Additionally, due to their participation in the movement, Euroamerican women learned how to understand and effect change in their predicament, and it was Afrikana women that schooled them about institutional power, and they became radical as a result of their association with Afrikana women. Jean Matthews (1986) echoes these sentiments and indicates that some Euroamerican women affiliated with the Abolition Movement utilized those ideas (antislavery) and applied them to themselves, i.e., petitioning for both property and political rights, and from 1848, their women's rights convention became the focus for what Matthews referred to as a "fledgling feminist movement."

Woman's Rights/Woman Suffrage Movement

It is reported that organizing for women's rights began in 1840 following the London World Anti-Slavery Convention's refusal to allow women delegate status. After women were refused recognition as delegates at the 1840 London World Anti-Slavery Convention, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton initially began entertaining organizing a women's rights convention (it was actually eight years before it materialized). Educated Euroamerican women were credited with beginning the movement for women's rights. It was their contention that if the populace were educated pertaining to the grave injustices surrounding women's position of inequality in society, they could promote and affect change on an unfair system of gender differentiation and its negative effects. Euroamerican women in this early movement were primarily interested in obtaining natural rights (e.g. property rights, franchise) afforded to their men. Terborg-Penn (1993) informs us that the Woman Suffrage Movement actually began at the Seneca Falls Woman's Rights Convention in July of 1848 at Seneca Falls, New York and ended in 1920 with the passage of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment.

Yee (1992) relates that no Afrikana women were among the approximately three hundred women and men in attendance at the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention. The only Afrikana person reported to be in attendance was Frederick Douglass, a fervent abolitionist and champion of women's rights. Several years later, Sojourner Truth would be the only Afrikana woman in attendance at the 1851 Akron, Ohio women's convention (presiding officer, Frances Dana Gage). Even then, Euroamerican women were fearful of association with Afrikanas, for they did not wish to address the "race" question.

Anthony (a temperance and antislavery advocate) and Stanton organized women and formed a Loyalty League to propose the Thirteenth Constitutional Amendment to free those slaves who were not protected under President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation (which only freed slaves in Rebel states) and a permanent abolishment of slavery. The formulation of the Women's Loyal National League resulted in a dichotomous relationship between abolition and

women's rights, due to the controversy that arose surrounding a resolution that would have provided voting rights to both free slaves and women. (Stanton, Anthony, and Stone spoke out in support of maintaining both causes). The Thirteenth Constitutional Amendment passed (ratified in 1865) abolishing slavery, but neither addressed suffrage for Afrikanas, nor Euroamerican women. There were those who were fearful that an amendment including women along with freed slaves would fail. Therefore, a Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment was proposed which espoused granting free slaves the right to citizenship, and by inference, suffrage (Ryan, 1992).

According to Ryan (1992), the American Equal Rights Association (AERA) was established in 1866 during what appears to be the first Women's Rights Convention since the Civil War. The AERA was a coalition of abolition and women's rights organizations, and debated supporting the Fourteenth Amendment--the so-called civil rights amendment--which contained the word "male" (the first time the word appeared in the constitution) that might possibly grant rights to Afrikana men, but not to any women, Afrikana or Euroamerican. The amendment passed, yet, Afrikana men were not granted the right to vote.

Race/Racism in the Woman's Suffrage Movement

Following the Civil War, confrontations among Afrikana and Euroamerican women worsened when Euroamerican suffragists were disappointed after the failure of the Fourteenth Amendment. Elizabeth C. Stanton and Susan B. Anthony wavered in their support of the cause of enslaved Afrikana men and women. Lerner (1979) explained that in the twentieth century, the Southern suffragists frequently utilized an argument (developed and espoused by Henry Blackwell) that "white" rule in the South would be strengthened if Euroamerican women were allowed to vote, since they outnumbered both Afrikana men and women.

Lerner states:

> The constant compromise of suffrage leaders with the Southern viewpoint on the race issue inevitably led to discriminatory practices and racist incidents...A number of racist incidents involving the Woman's Party after the winning of suffrage indicate that "expediency" had frequently served as an excuse for bigotry (1979, p. 104).

E. Frances White (1984) addresses the dispositions of early feminist Euroamerican crusaders during this era and contends that it was tragic that they (including Anthony and Stanton) would later deny the roots of the Woman Suffrage Movement in antislavery struggles and were swept along with the virulent racism of both the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, joining alliances with blatant racists. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, in particular, engaged in blatant acts of racism some of which are evidenced in her use of racist arguments in her quest to improve the condition of Euroamerican women. Terborg-Penn (1977) addresses this issue and quotes the following insidious remarks that appeared in Anthony and Stanton's feminist publication, "The Revolution."

> While the dominant party have with one hand lifted up TWO MILLION BLACK MEN and crowned them with the honor and dignity of citizenship, wrote Anthony, with the other they have dethroned FIFTEEN MILLION WHITE WOMEN--their own mothers and sisters, their own wives and daughters--and cast them under the heel of the lowest orders of manhood (Quoted in Terborg-Penn, 1977, p. 82).

According to Paula Giddings (1984), Anthony and Stanton's rage at Afrikana men being given the vote over Euroamerican women came full circle when Stanton inferred that it gave Afrikana men a license to commit rape.

Stanton wrote:

> The Republican cry of 'Manhood Suffrage' creates an antagonism between black men and all women that will cultimate in fearful outrages on womanhood, especially in the southern states (Quoted in Terborg-Penn, 1977, p. 90).

Stanton engaged in a vicious campaign utilizing both class and race as weapons. Her political platform in 1866 while running for a New York congressional seat, illustrated the use of class as a weapon. Stanton decided that middle-class Euroamerican women should be empowered to stave off the poor, the immigrants, and the Afrikana people. She expressed that under the auspices of the best interests of the country that poor, immigrant, and Afrikana people were paupers, propertyless, ignorant, and degraded. Thus, the middle-class Euroamerican women, wealthy, educated, and refined deserved power (Giddings, 1984). It was apparent that both Stanton and Anthony's strategy to enfranchise Euroamerican women would strengthen the power of the Euroamerican ruling class.

Coleman (1982) cites yet another tangible example of Euroamerican feminists' propensity to acquiesce to racist ideology. She draws our attention to the position of one of the leading southern Euroamerican suffragists, Belle Kearney, when Kearney was involved in the push to extend the vote to women based on literacy. Coleman noted that only a few of the delegates in attendance raised objections when she adamantly argued that the South could ensure that the immediate and durable "white" supremacy could honestly be attained based on this measure of expediency which would compel the South to perceive its Euroamerican women as the means by which it could continue to maintain "white" supremacy over Afrikanas.

In the year, 1869, the AERA following a contentious meeting, split into two separate suffrage organizations because there were those who felt that Afrikana men needed the vote more so than women, and those of course, who were unwilling to postpone suffrage for Euroamerican women. Insidious remarks made by Stanton also contributed to the problem. For example, her remarks referring to enslaved Afrikana women as daughters of bootblacks caused Frederick Douglass (a champion of women's rights) to accuse Stanton of advancing her cause (women's rights) on the backs of defenseless enslaved women. The year, 1869, also marks the proposal of the Fifteenth Amendment that would have given Afrikana men voting rights, again negating women's rights. Thus, instead of the forces of abolition and women's rights merging, they eventually went their separate ways with the impending passage of the highly contested Fifteenth Amendment which provided citizens the right to vote regardless of race, color or prior condition of servitude. The passage (1870) of the Fifteenth Amendment was a political setback for women's rights. According to Ryan (1992), it resulted in the explicit exclusion of Euroamerican women from politics. Despite their intensive efforts to obtain suffrage, the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment granting Afrikana men the vote reflected that Euroamerican women were powerless to influence the content of the laws. (By the end of the 1860s, the ultimate objective of the Woman's Rights Movement was to secure equality through the vote. Subsequently, the movement by women to obtain natural rights afforded men culminated in the Woman Suffrage Movement.)

When it came to the race issue, often Euroamerican women including suffragists were the most formidable adversaries of Afrikana women, rather than natural allies. Afrikana women, according to Lerner (1979), resented the manifestations of "white paternalism," i.e., "white" board trustees for Afrikana schools. The national women's organizations continued to segregate against Afrikana women barring their admission and participation in Euroamerican women's organizations. However, the anti-lynching campaign spearheaded by Ida Wells-Barnett in the 1890s caused some Euroamerican women to see the connection between protecting their homes and the honor and rights of Afrikana women. Unfortunately, recurring patterns of racism from alleged liberal Euroamerican women did not cease. One case in point, is that of the president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (who previously espoused abolitionist convictions and conducted interracial work) wavered and became equivocal on the lynching issue defending the Southern record, and repudiated the accusations of Wells-Barnett that were made during her speaking-tour in England.

According to Giddings (1984), suffrage for Afrikana women was two-fold and encompassed both a feminist and a racial demand for equality. Stanton and Anthony's strategy of expediency enfranchised Euroamerican women and strengthened the Euroamerican ruling class power. Thus, this expediency strategy which consisted of both strong racist and classist overtones was viewed by Stanton and Anthony as ends that justified the means. Despite the fact that Frederick Douglass had been the only man at the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention to speak for women's suffrage and had directly encouraged Stanton to call for a vote on the matter, Susan B. Anthony did not want Douglass to attend the 1895 National Association of Women's Suffrage Convention, and asked him not to attend. This is interesting in that it was the 1895 NAWSA Convention where Stanton contradicted her earlier claims that Afrikana women needed the vote more than anyone. Suddenly, Stanton no longer held that view. During this convention, Stanton espoused the inherent danger of enfranchising illiterate women. In addition, Anthony refused assistance to Afrikana women attempting to organize a branch of the NAWSA, because it was inexpedient. However, Ida Wells-Barnett expressed that Anthony's refusal both reflected and confirmed Euroamerican women's segregationist attitudes. Anthony further persuaded Helen Pitts (Euroamerican suffragist and Douglass' second wife) from presenting issues concerning the Southern prison camps and the plight of Afrikana women in those camps (Giddings, 1984).

The emergence of the participation of Southern suffragists was highly noticeable during the 1903 Annual Convention of the NAWSA held in New Orleans. It is noteworthy that the NAWSA adopted questionable policies. For example, the "states rights" concept enabled individual states to determine organizational structure and suffrage provisions, i.e., qualifications for education and property. The NAWSA utilized these policies to maintain the involvement and or participation of southern Euroamerican women. In essence, they could organize racially segregated suffrage groups, so if suffrage was approved for women, they could still restrict the voting rights of Afrikanas. Thus, it was deja vu, when the NAWSA repeated an earlier stance separating the race question and the woman question, treating them as separate issues. Suddenly, Afrikana women were now classified by race, whereas, previously the abolitionists had classified them by sex for the sake of expediency.

During an 1899 convention, the NAWSA refused to take a position on the segregated seating on the train. Again, Anthony refused to support the resolution stating that woman suffrage and the race (Afrikana) question were totally separate causes. It is noteworthy that the ranks of the NAWSA began to swell with southern Euroamerican women who, according to Ryan (1992), were essentially the last to organize for women's suffrage, engaged in racist

practices without censureship. One case in point, Ida Wells-Barnett, founder of the Alpha Suffrage Club (Chicago, Illinois) and Mary Church Terrell leading the women of Howard University's Delta Sigma Theta Sorority were denied marching within the ranks of NAWSA's 1913 suffrage march. In fact, the Chicago delegation of suffragists consisted of all Euroamerican women. Therefore, during the planning stages of the mass demonstration, Wells-Barnett was informed that she could not march within the all Euroamerican contingency. In essence, the suffragist march would be segregated (due to the Euroamerican suffragists' moral fear of the South) and Wells-Barnett would be confined to marching in the rear. When the demonstration began Wells-Barnett was nowhere in sight. However, she suddenly emerged from the crowd of onlookers and slipped into the line among the Euroamerican women (Coleman, 1982, Giddings, 1984).

According to Giddings (1984), the 1916 NAWSA Convention endorsed the passage of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment. It was no surprise that the amendment neither mentioned race, nor was it concerned with race issues.

As quoted in Giddings, the amendment contained the following:

> The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex. Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation (1984, p. 129).

Yee (1992) expressed that Afrikana women, due to their long history of activism, actually generated a movement for women's rights that involved a much larger agenda than that of Euroamerican feminists. When Euroamerican feminists adopted overtly racist tactics and began disassociating the women's movement from the roots of abolitionism (self-evident by the 1850s) and participating in the systematic conscious exclusion of Afrikana women, Afrikana women forced to maintain the goals of Afrikana abolitionists, formed Afrikana suffrage organizations to establish their own patterns of activism.

Yee goes on to say:

> The issues of race and gender inequality that erupted in abolition and the emerging women's rights campaign essentially ignored Black women's stake in both movements....Black women's participation in both movements threatened to destroy the very foundation of American society: the achievement of racial and sexual equality would have shaken a social, political, and economic structure that was based to a great extent on maintaining inequality (1992, pp. 8, 9).

However, despite the aforementioned, Afrikana women continued to persevere and would never lose sight of their mission, racial and sexual equality. In the process, their grassroots feminism would provide that avenue.

Woman Suffrage and Its Impact and Implications

The liberal tradition of feminism that was established by leaders such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902) and Susan B. Anthony (1820-1906) began and continued with an inadequate comprehension of race and class issues in women's experiences (Anderson, 1993, p. 297).

Gender held center stage in the analysis of Euroamerican women, and they simply relegated race to a minor position. Thus, early Euroamerican feminists' analysis of racial and sexual oppression would never extend beyond the analogy stage. They also failed to develop an analysis that took class and other cultural differences among women into consideration. It appears that the source of the problem is that race remained at a level of analogy, and Euroamerican women never addressed it. This explains why future feminists at the emergence of a new movement would not readily address it either. The new movement would model itself after the Women's Suffrage Movement following in the footsteps of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony.

Shirley Yee (1992) sheds further light on this issue, and states that Euroamerican women's failure to:

> perceive race and class as essential to women's liberation shaped the agenda of the white women's movement and ultimately prevented the possibility of forging a biracial feminist alliance, a failure of vision that would remain problematic into the twentieth century (1992, p. 137).

Historical analyses of the racism of Euroamerican women illuminates their relationships and interactions with Afrikana women, and the relationships of Euroamerican women to Euroamerican men, are also very relevant, providing a basis for understanding the plight of Afrikana and Euroamerican women's past and contemporary relations.

Patricia Hill Collins (1991) describes a historical legacy of rejection and seduction that has framed the relationships between Afrikana and Euroamerican women. Many Euroamerican women during the slavery era, not only ignored and or refused to acknowledge the racist insidious actions of Euroamerican men, but benefitted from those actions. Euroamerican women were unable to acknowledge their own racism--how it privileges them. Hill Collins regards this as a result of the differential relationship of Afrikana women and Euroamerican women to the power of Euroamerican males.

Aida Hurtado (1989) picks up on this theme in her historical overview of the relationships of Euroamerican women and Women of Color to Euroamerican men and provides a framework for understanding their different positions. She articulates that historically, the relationship of Euroamerican women to Euroamerican men has been a history of seduction, and that of Women of Color, a relationship of rejection. This privileged relationship of Euroamerican women to Euroamerican men has placed them in a position of power. For example, Euroamerican women have the privilege of potentially marrying Euroamerican men, mothering their children, and as such, becoming partners of Euroamerican males. Whereas, Women of Color have been denied privilege and treated as the property of Euroamerican males, i.e., slavery, no partnership. Euroamerican males have devalued and rejected Women of Color. Many Euroamerican women (feminists) have sought to separate and contend with Euroamerican males. Whereas, Women of Color have not found themselves in direct contention with Men of Color. They not only struggle against gender domination, but racial and class domination as well. Their feminism has not been defined solely in opposition to males, but in opposition to rejection (e.g. identity construction as well as patriarchal deconstruction). The historical difference in treatment is directly related to the center of power which Euroamerican women have shared with Euroamerican men. It is that difference that Euroamerican feminists have often failed to capture, that difference reflects what is really at stake in the movement. The

consequences of the distinctions of these relationships are evident in both the earlier and contemporary Women's Movements. In many respects, Women of Color, Afrikana women in particular are as much at odds with Euroamerican feminists as they are with Euroamerican men. Women of Color present experiences culturally and socially different from that of Euroamerican feminists, and have historically engaged in a struggle for both social equality and liberation and their experiences must be heard, acknowledged, embraced, and legitimized. Thus, the existing conflicts and tensions between Euroamerican feminists and feminists of Color are deeper than mere woman-to-woman relationships, but rather of how they relate to Euroamerican men.

Ryan (1992) indicates that it was only after 72 years that women's suffrage was obtained. The Nineteenth Amendment which gave women the right to vote was passed on August 26, 1920. However, full equality for Afrikana women was a very slow and painful process. A considerable breakthrough would not occur for Afrikana women until World War II, when Septima Clark obtained a seat on the board of the Community Chest of Charleston, South Carolina. Yet, the national YWCA would not become integrated until the 1950s. Thus, the Euroamerican women continued their historical pattern of racism.

Historical record reveals the manifestation of racism and the extent to which racism actually characterized the early stages of the Euroamerican feminist movement. Leaders of the movement had consistently consciously ignored the issues and concerns of Afrikana women. Thus, the Woman's Rights/Woman Suffrage Movement which emerged from antislavery struggles became another manifestation of forces aligned against Afrikana people. Consequently, Afrikana women had to wage two separate, but parallel wars. Despite having to function within narrow prescribed spaces, by necessity, Afrikana women launched their attack in both covert and overt ways (Coleman, 1982).

Coleman suggests:

> It is perhaps the universal and unremitting nature of the Black women's work on behalf of her race which contributes to the very invisibility of the impact that was made. Their successes are too often treated as if it were the products of biological scripting...They nurtured and protected and were rebellious in direct proportion to what they felt was needed...the die was cast (1982, p. 127).

It is ironic that the very movement (suffrage) that started with a quest to emancipate women, an emancipation that failed to materialize, utilized and depended upon the classist, racist, and ethnicist practices of expediency--privileges of Euroamerican women at the expense of Afrikana women. Historically, attempts by Afrikana women to coalesce with Euroamerican women have been replete with examples of the racism of Euroamerican women and their tendency (ies) to acquiesce to racist ideologies. Thus, it is no surprise that the historical conflicts and tensions continue.

Women's Liberation Movement/Feminism

...Who shall, in what manner, frame the issues to which women are to address themselves in a society whose majority is culturally conditioned to operate upon the basis of racist and sexist assumptions (Black Women's Action, Plan 1977, p. 12). Lerner (1979) contends that the Woman's Rights Movement is a specific phase of the broader Euroamerican Feminist Movement, limited in both time and scope. However, she distinguishes the Woman's Rights Movement as seeking equality enabling women entry into the structures and institutions of a male-defined

society, the emancipation of women defined narrowly as legal rights, whereas, "feminism" as a struggle for female autonomy and self-determination, elevating the status of women, obtaining social, political, and economic gains, embracing what Lerner refers to as "the new feminism of women's liberation," various groups and causes. Giddings (1984) addresses the image of the Women's Liberation Movement and reflects it as ranging from middle class women with virtually little or no actual history of racial sensitivity to a radical view of male supremacy, as opposed to "white" supremacy being the root cause of oppression.

Coleman (1982) articulates:

> The position of Black females, standing in the intersection of both [race and gender], remains relatively unchanged. If speeches, essays and articles appearing in popular media can be trusted, their response to the situation is reminiscent of their sisters a hundred years ago...It is a subtle reminder that Black women do not see white women as exempt from the attitudes generated by white males (pp. 129, 134).

The Women's Liberation Movement alienated Afrikana women echoing the scenario of its predecessor, Woman Suffrage. Just as Euroamerican women during both Abolition/Anti-Slavery and Woman Suffrage failed to transcend their racism and classism, they continued the trend throughout the Women's Liberation/Feminist Movement. This is truly a paradox in that historical patterns reflect that Afrikana women are essential to movements of Afrikana people, thus those movements are of utmost importance to the progress of feminist movements, because the personal struggle of Euroamerican women have been tied to the political forces affecting the rest of society. It has been historically demonstrated that feminism has had its greatest attention in those eras or immediately following the Afrikana movements, for example, the 1840s and the 1850s, Post World War I, 1960s and 1970s (Giddings, 1984). It is unfortunate that the Women's Liberation Movement would prove to be no different for Afrikana women than the prior movements in that Euroamerican women would continue to acquiesce to racism and racist ideologies. The contemporary Women's Movement is still struggling with the same issues of race that have historically been unresolved.

Yet, ironically, the Women's Liberation Movement was directly influenced by the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements. The emergence of the women's movement also followed the President's Commission on the Status of Women (1961) chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt. It was a movement dominated by members affiliated with the state commissions of women or government employees at various levels. According to Giddings (1984), the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provided the legal foundation for women's rights much in the same way as the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments for Woman Suffrage. Through organizations such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Euroamerican women gained a respect for their own abilities which was something that was virtually impossible to have obtained in other organizations, i.e., SDS (Students for a Democratic Society). However, Euroamerican women's involvement in such organizations heightened tensions when their activism extended beyond SNCC circles into local Southern communities, Euroamerican women became sexually intimate with Afrikana men. Sara Evans, a Euroamerican female activist of that time expressed that this sexual tension involving Euroamerican women in the organization was "key to their incipient feminism" but also "became a divisive and explosive force within the Civil Rights Movement itself" (Evans in Giddings, 1984, p. 301).

The National Organization of Women (NOW) is a premiere liberal feminist organization that emerged in the 1960s. Virginia Sapiro (1994) described the anger and disenchantment of Euroamerican women as the impetus for the formulation of NOW. It was actually during the National Conference of State Commissions that some of the delegates, disenchanted and angry met in the hotel room of Betty Friedan to air their grievances. It is reported that their disenchantment and anger concerned being assigned to study problems that in essence they would not be permitted to correct. These women met to devise a mechanism that would enable them to effect change. This particular meeting and several meetings later culminated in the establishment of the National Organization of Women in October, 1966 with three hundred members and Friedan as its first president.

The Women's Liberation was and the Feminist Movement is actually a network of different groups, and, as such there have been antagonistic relations which have caused serious rifts and fragmentation. For example, while the interests of elite professional women, i.e., employment, higher education, and Women's Studies were readily addressed, the concerns of other women, were overtly neglected. In addition, there have been struggles surrounding the lack of diversity, and struggles regarding both racism and classism within the Women's Movement which remain confrontational and emotional issues. According to Sandra Harding (1991), "there is no doubt, however, that many people concerned about class and race issues have found certain aspects of feminism part of the problem that their work seeks to resolve" (1991, preface, p. x). She goes on to say that feminism centered only in Euroamerican women's feminist politics is a manisfestation of self-interested individualism. Therefore, Euroamerican feminists need to learn how to center race and class while holding onto their gender concerns.

Elizabeth Spelman (1988) views gender and race as the ampersand problem in feminist thought, and discusses the involvement of women in the nineteenth-century Abolitionist Movement and the twentieth-century Civil Rights Movement and states, "we continue to learn about the sad, bitter, and confusing history of women who in fighting hard for feminist ends did not take racism seriously" (p. 16). White solipsism has contributed to this issue. Euroamerican feminists view "whiteness" as describing the world and engage in a tunnel-vision that relegates the experience of Women of Color as insignificant.

The movement following 1970 was reported to be considered as synonymous with NOW which also alienated itself from the majority of Afrikana women. One case in point, the National Organization of Women did not consider the plight of Angela Davis (FBI's Ten Most Wanted List) as being anything remotely associated with the liberation of women. Giddings (1984) describes the race/class myopia (nearsightedness) as a common source of the failure of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). It is apparent that history has a tendency to repeat itself (Suffrage Movement), when one considers that Euroamerican middle class women, once again, were insensitive to race and class issues. They have continued to be insensitve to the needs of both working class women and Afrikana women. In fact, most Euroamerican women have remained silent on most issues that concerned society's inequities, unless, it specifically deals with inequities affecting them. For example, the arrogance of the National Organization of Women (NOW) and its inability to reach beyond its all Euroamerican constituency to consider the priorities and needs of Afrikana women and other Women of Color actually sealed the fate of ERA.

Frances Beal (in Giddings, 1984) described the disdain and distrust of Afrikanas, Afrikana women in particular toward Euroamerican women in general. In fact, Toni Morrison posits that Afrikana women:

> look at white women and see the enemy, for they know that racism is not confined to white men and that there are more white women than men in this country. That majority sustained an eloquent silence during the times of greatest stress"-- or worse: the faces of those white women hovering behind that Black girl at the Little Rock school in 1957 do not soon leave the retina of the mind (Morrison in Giddings, 1984, p. 307).

Dorothy Height (former president of the National Council of Negro Women) as quoted in Giddings (1984) succinctly summarized the difference of the suffering of Afrikana people and Euroamerican women as "fifty years ago women got suffrage...but it took lynching, bombing, the Civil Rights Movement and the Voting Rights Act...to get it for Black women and Black people" (p. 308).

Lerner (1979) cautions against viewing women as a unified entity. She posits that race, class, and ethnicity are crucially important factors that warrant serious consideration. According to Lerner, generalizations pertaining to women's oppression must be qualified and separate consideration given to factors of race, class, and ethnicity,
because the experience of historical subordination is not the same. For example, Euroamerican suffragists equating their oppression with that of enslaved Afrikana women negated the real plight of enslaved Afrikana women. The only aspect that differentiated the oppression of Afrikana women from that of Afrikana men was their sexual exploitation by Euroamerican men. Often, Euroamerican males engaged in this practice to show contempt for and to humiliate Afrikana men. It is that sexual oppression of Afrikana women that distinguishes their history from both that of Afrikana men and Euroamerican women. According to Vivian Gordon (1987), Paula Giddings (1984), Angela Davis (1981) and Joyce Ladner (1971), the deprivation of Euroamerican women does not parallel that of Afrikana women. Moreover, the existence of a common oppression is historically undocumented and nonexistent. In fact, according to these Africentric feminist scholars, it is historically documented that Euroamerican women not only benefitted from the oppression of Afrikana women, they actively participated in that oppression.

Lerner (1979) adamantly argues that despite having womanhood in common, for both Afrikana and Euroamerican women the confines and limitations of society were inescapable, because a person's status and power were determined not only by sex, but by race which had grave implications for Afrikana women. Matthews (1986) goes on further to say that Afrikana women were subjected to a deprivation of freedom unparalleled in the experience of Euroamerican women.

Afrikana women espoused a political conviction of natural rights for all, irrespective of race and gender. Anderson (1993) acknowledges that Euroamerican women neither developed nor understood the historical specificity of the experience of Afrikana people in America. Euroamerican women's perspective was that all men were oppressors, rendering them (Euroamerican women) insensitive to class and or race differences among men that privileged men with differential access to power and racism among Euroamerican women. Unfortunately, these problems continue to prevail. Throughout the activism and intellectual production of the Feminist Movement, the basic relationship between Afrikana and Euroamerican women has historically reflected the racism and or the unwillingness of Euroamerican women to acknowledge the activism and intellectual production of Afrikana women.

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RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND SLAVERY
STRANGE BEDFELLOWS OF THE ANTEBELLUM SOUTH

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Abstract: This paper addresses the education of slaves from the inception of slavery to the mid-1800s. As the African slaves achieved notable academic status, there was a ground swell of reaction by the southern aristocracy. This reaction resulted from the combination of two factors: the spate of servile insurrection and the emergence of the cotton kingdom. The aforementioned changed the face of educating African slaves in the Antebellum South.

Woodson's introductory remarks underscored the notion that if for the mere communicative value, Masters understood that an educated, or trained "civilized" Christian-slave was preferred to a rude infidel who did not speak English (Woodson, 1968, p. 4). Control being the issue, it was critical for the Master to determine the type and extent of the education to be afforded to those he wished to control. Undoubtedly, enlightenment of the mind via literary education as ratified experientially propels the insatiable human desire for freedom. The initial response to this dichotomy – whether or not African slaves should receive literary education – in the South, though not without debate, affirmed that particularly for economic purposes slaves should be entitled to literary education.

Woodson therefore purports that the education of the African slave in the antebellum can be divided into two periods. The first period is from the inception of the institution of slavery to the rise of the insurrection movement – around 1835 (Woodson, 1968, p. 2). Earl West (1972) who compiles a collection of readings from the antebellum period up to and including World War One tends to agree with the distinction Woodson makes. West spares involved commentary; his purpose is to expose his reader to primary educative thought during that era. However, West was able to capture in his collections a conceptual framework by African people, about African educational development. Particularly insightful are the contrasts of those comments prior to and during the years Woodson described as the reactionary period.

In a short essay introducing education for the "Negro" prior to emancipation West demarcates the educational practices in the South prior to and after the 1830s (West, 1972, p. 4). He proposes that prior to 1830 it was mandatory for slaves who were to be considered apprentices, in addition to their trade, to learn to read and write. After 1830 literary education was theoretically outlawed, while works of the trade were viewed in some quarters as beneficial. "Several of them [African slaves] are taught to be Sawyers, Carpenters, Smiths, Coopers, etc." (West, 1972, p. 9). West (1972) speaks of polarization in the educative system for the "Negro" during the latter years. Whereas, the Southern Aristocracy, with consensus, legally forbade classical education for the African slave, some quarters tolerated industrial education – the trades that did not necessitate literary skills. Neufeldt and McGee mention this as an *about face* of the Southern

Aristocracy after the early 1830s (Neufeldt and McGee, 1990, p. 7). Religious arguments forwarded by clergy during the early years for the conversion of the African slave through literary education were unceremoniously dismissed after 1831.

During both periods however, there were sympathizers with, and proponents of, the disparagement of the African slave. Therefore, while as a rule the strangle hold of prevention during the second period stifled classical education for African slaves, there were still some who slipped through the dragnet and were educated. Conversely, while the first period provided some opportunity for African slaves to obtain literary education, the vast majority of slaves in the south remained illiterate.

THE INSTITUTION AND REACTION TO RELIGIOUS EDUCATION FOR SLAVES IN THE ANTEBELLUM SOUTH

Our treatment of the first period will provide the background for understanding the attitude of plantation owners toward religion and education of the slave on the plantation during the second period. Woodson posits that there were three classes of advocates of slave education during the first period: the Masters, sympathetic observers and zealous missionaries (Woodson, 1968, p. 2). In Woodson's opinion the first class offered the best chance for the slaves' mental development since the southern planters were always "a law onto themselves." If therefore, a slave with natural aptitude toward literary education found favor with his Master there was a strong possibility that he would enjoy the privilege of unhindered mental development (Woodson, 1968, p. 2). The second class was less effective; they normally did not own Slaves consequently, their direct interaction with Slaves was severely limited. The third class, zealous missionaries, can be categorized into two camps, Catholics and Protestants. The Catholic missionaries, mostly the Spanish and French, made the first efforts to educate the Slaves much to the shame of the English Protestants.

Woodson's argument that the first class of educators provided the most freeing mental development is based on his position that religious based education carried the anchorage of loyalty to that particular religious belief system (Woodson, 1968, p. 52). However, based on the interpretation of and response to religio-social issues found in the writings of Slaves: Frederick Douglas, Anthony Burns, Jackson Whitney, a fair assumption is that critical thinking skills can be and were acquired through academic exercises that were formulated with a religious bent. Therefore, I am proposing that the Woodson's third class of educators were just as critical, if not more so that his first class regarding the slaves' mental development. Religious education was effective because of structure and resources.

Many southern planters were themselves limited in their literary experience. Therefore, if they were the primary source of literary exposure, their limitations would by extension become the slaves' limitation. The clergy on the other hand had access to resources beyond themselves and could adequately provide for the intellectual development of the slave. Woodson himself writes: "To convert the heathen they sent out not only ministers but schoolmasters. They were required to instruct the children, to teach them to read the Scriptures and other poems and useful books..." (Woodson, 1968, p. 25). Therefore, the clergy and religious/academic workers did much for the literary education of the slave during this first period.

The clergy's purpose for providing literary education to the slave was the propagation of the Gospel of Christ. Woodson proposes that the driving initiative was, so that the slaves could read and appreciate the supremacy of the Christian religion over the animistic religions of Africa. The early religious proponents of slavery thought that the light of the Gospel would favor the slave trade (Woodson, 1968, p. 18). They rationalized that bringing heathens into the light of the Gospel would justify their enslavement. Therefore, literary education designed for the slave in this first period was dominated by religious ideology. The Catholics, as mentioned previously, were doing much more for the education of the slave than the English Protestants. The French *code noir* for example insisted that masters enlighten their slaves so that they may grasp the principles of the Christian religion. This stood in contraposition to the English Protestants who long portrayed the Catholics as enemies of Christianity.

The benevolence of the former groups not only challenged the religious supremacy of the English Protestants but also provoked guilt-based corrective actions on their part. The dark issue facing the English at this time was the unwritten law that Christians could not be held as slaves. If conversion led to manumission then the English had to devise methods to subvert that philosophy of *christianized liberation*. The Bishop of London thereafter declared that Christianity does not change one's station in life. The abrogation of the law gave license to English missionaries; who, after overcoming this cumbersome hurdle, embarked on a program of fervent evangelism – so that the slaves may find religion. Education for the purpose of proselyting offered enlightenment to the Slaves. The doctrine of the Quakers for example offered slaves the same educational and religious privileges as free people of any race. The Quakers interpreted the Bible to teach the brotherhood of men and the fatherhood of God: "…they taught the colored people to read instruction in the book of the law that they might be wise unto salvation" (Woodson, 1968, p. 4).

The society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, established by the church in London in 1701 played a key role in advancing the education of slaves through the English Protestant Church. Their mission to convert the heathens necessitated literary education for the cause of holistic slave education. During this first period there were many publications advocating the Christian responsibility toward the education and general care of the slave. For example: Bishop Wilson of Sodor, *Principles and Duties of Christianity in their Direct Bearing on the uplift of the Heathen* (1969); *Christian Education of Indian, Negro and Mulatto Children* (Pamphlet) - author unknown. There were also spokespersons galvanizing forces to advocate the rights of Slaves to be cared for, and educated. Reverend Thomas Bacon - though flowing in the rubric of predestination and slavery as the lot-in-life for the African slave - in four sermons targeting Masters, said that slaves should enjoy the rights of those servants in the household of the Patriarchs, which necessarily included the privilege of literary education (Bacon in Butler & Stout, 1998, p. 75).

There were other voices; educators and spokespersons advancing the cause of the slave: Cotton Mather believed from a Biblical perspective that servants were likened to one's own children. He was vocally opposed to the ill treatment of slaves by plantation owners particularly as they depended upon slave labor for financial opulence. He suggested that God would call upon masters to account for the souls of their slaves. Richard Baxter also from a Biblical perspective believed in the equality of mankind.

Slavery from Baxter's understanding of the Bible should only be permitted if one willingly acquiesced for the cause of economic hardship or if one was captured in a lawful war. Baxter's summary of people who bought and sold slaves was that they were not at all Christians but devils incarnate (Woodson, 1968, pp. 38-41).

This quotation from Justice Samuel Sewall's 1700 publication *The Selling of Joseph* also stands as testimony to the attitude of some Christians to Slavery prior the 1830s:

> Forasmuch as Liberty is in real value next unto Life: None ought to part with it themselves, or deprive others of it, but upon most mature consideration. The numerousness of slaves at this day in the province, and the uneasiness of them under their slavery, hath put many upon thinking whether the foundation of it is firmly and well laid, so as to sustain the vast weight that is built upon it. It is most certain that all men, as they are the Sons of Adam, are Coheirs; and have equal right unto liberty, and all other outward comforts of life.

These written and verbal appeals and the formation of laws and institutionary societies gave opportunity for African slaves to be educated during this first period. Relative safety for Slave education saw the rapid mental development of African people in defiance of the mythical propaganda of African intellectual deficiencies.

> ... Negroes exhibited a rapid mental development. Intelligent colored men proved to be useful and trustworthy servants; they became much better laborers and artisans, and many of them showed administrative ability adequate to the management of business establishments and large plantations. Moreover, better rudimentary education served many ambitious persons of color as a stepping-stone to higher attainments. Negroes learned to appreciate and write poetry and contributed something to mathematics, science, and philosophy. Furthermore, having disproved the theories of their mental inferiority, some of the Africans, in conformity of Cotton Mather, were employed to teach white children. (Woodson, 1968, p. 6)

As suspected the enlightened Negroes did not favor captivity with the support and patronage of the abolitionist organized servile insurrections. Hence, this period of permitting classical education for Slaves lasted up to the first three and a half decades of the nineteenth century and came to a screeching halt.

The Reaction

There were always reactions to the education of African slaves; however, during the early stage, i.e., prior to 1835, the voice of reaction was insufficient, it could not impede the rapidity of African mind development. However, after 1835 two forces came together with enough volume to alarm the southern farmer of the dangers enlightened slaves would pose to the Institution of Slavery. These forces were the Industrial Revolution and the spirit of insurrection that was gaining momentum among the slaves. The Industrial Revolution increased the demand of cotton, which by extension increased the demand for slave labor. The numbers of slaves increased from less than 700,000 in

1790 to more than 2,000,000 by 1830. John Hope Franklin states that by the Civil War the census recorded the Slave population in the South at 3,953,760 (Franklin & Moss, 1988, p. 113).

Franklin notes that the Industrial Revolution changed the "farm" notion of the South into the "plantation" system (Franklin & Moss, 1988, p. 112). Similarly, the repressive essence of slavery changed from Patriarchy to Capitalism. Driven by economics the plantation became a rural factory with all the impersonal trimmings of a modern production-oriented enterprise. Slaves were an invaluable part of the machinery that made the enterprise profitable. Neufeldt and McGee posit that the slave owners concluded that in order for the slaves to be kept in bondage they had to be kept in ignorance. "They [the slave owners] seemed to sense that reading was a dangerous skill for a subjugated person to acquire" (Neufeldt & McGee, 1990, p. 7).

Enlightenment from past experience seemed to educe the desire for freedom in the slave; these desires had to be quenched. Woodson (1968) observes that plantation owners in the south concluded that an enlightened slave would not be kept in servitude. He further argues that even the clergy, who were at one time propagated enlightenment for the African slaves in order that their souls may be saved, were willing to forgo the slaves' salvation in order to preserve the Institution of Slavery. Laws were enacted to prevent the education of the slave and the free African. The slaves' contact with free Blacks was prohibited and in some states the free African was ordered to leave the state. For example, in 1831 Mississippi passed a law that commanded all free colored persons to leave the state in ninety days (Woodson, 1968, p. 165). These laws carried stiff penalties for anyone, Black or White, who broke them. Paradoxically, as laws were passed and the treatment of the slaves worsened in the early to mid-1800s the desire for freedom heightened in the slaves and with that the spirit of insurrection.

Therefore in the reactionary period insurrections were the order of the day. These years marked the significant insurrections of General Gabriel, 1800, Denmark Vesey 1822, and Nat Turner1831. The State Government laid the cause of Turner's insurrection to the charge of "Negro preachers," who as alleged, were in a position to arouse disorder in the minds of discontented slaves. The more rigid the laws got the more the tension grew and the more the Institution of Slavery was threatened. All gatherings of African people were closely monitored; religious services could not be conducted without the attendance of White observers. In South Carolina Blacks were forbidden to preach to or teach other Blacks. By 1835, North Carolina, a state that appeared to be sympathetic to the education of Africans became reactionary. The frequent insurrections and the association of the enlightened Black with these insurrections caused North Carolina to put in effect a law that forbade the education of people of African descent down to the fourth generation.

Woodson suggests that the reactionary period in its struggle to keep the Institution of Slavery alive caused a literal extension of the oppression. "After these laws passed, American Slavery extended not as that of the ancients, only to the body, but also to the mind" (Woodson, 1968, p. 171). Another reactionary measure by rich planters aimed at controlling the upsurge of African intelligencer was underwriting the cost of the slave over a period of seven years. They thought it more prudent to work a slave to death in the proposed seven-year term and buy another, than to teach him – and thereby awaken

his desire for freedom – to increase his efficiency. It became obvious to the southern planter that an educated Negro's mind could not be maintained in servitude.

The tough reactionary policies of the Southern States made it almost impossible for Slaves on the plantations to receive literary education. Some of the prohibitions included making it illegal for slaves to assemble for social or religious reasons unless white observers were present. Slaves were also barred from contact with free men or freed (born free) men of their own race. Masters were required to stop using slaves in positions that required bookkeeping, printing or other enlightenment-oriented skills. Private and public teachers were forbidden to teach slaves particularly, and African Americans in general. These measures separated slaves from their own free kind, and made it illegal for African Americans, bound or free to educate their own children.

The principles of economics and religious piety seemed to be at uncontrollable and irreconcilable dissidence in southern aristocracy. Here lies the some of the deepest controversies surrounding the role of the church and religious education in the ignoble regime of western slavery. The old adage of "having ones cake and eating it" is relevant for our concluding thoughts: if the south was going to build wealth on the backs of African slaves it was almost impossible to lend salvific concern of the souls of Africans. If religious literary education brought dignity and self-authentication to the enslaved African it was antithetical to the southern agenda and as such was necessarily truncated.

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MOTHER LEAFY ANDERSON: EXPLORING A MYSTERY OF NATIVE AMERICAN AND AFRICAN SPIRITUALITY

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Abstract: The Native American and African religious traditions included belief in spirits that moved between the worlds of the living and the non-living and in the power of non-human elements, including the use of plants for medicine and the initiation of mind-altering states. When Mother Leafy Anderson set up church-keeping in New Orleans, she found a community with sensitivity and perhaps even a hunger for that connection to be celebrated. Her practices provided "cultural passageways," that bonded both African and Native American peoples to historical memory—a sense of place, a sense of self and a sense of community.

Introduction

The Life of Mother Leafy Anderson

This paper examines the life of spiritualist Mother Leafy Anderson (1887-1927), the legacy of disciples she established, and the connectedness between African and Native American history that her story illuminates. The work of Mother Anderson and the other spiritualists of that era also represents an enclave of women whose cultural traditions enabled them to come to voice and to establish public space in which to act. Much of the material on Mother Anderson comes out of interviews with her disciples that were part of the Federal Writer's Project.

> With fair brown skin and high cheekbones, wearing a pale gown and an Indian necklace, she is crowned with a tiara rising along lines of dark hair drawn tightly down the temples. At five-foot-five, she weighs about 190 pounds. Her mouth, with its strong lower lip, is a line of resolve. The contentment registers in her right eye, with its clear dark depth...The face conveys the affirming self of one who has traveled far to find a regal aura. (Berry, 1995, p. 57)

There are some things about Mother Anderson that we know and some that we can only imagine as the artifacts of her life are reassembled by those who knew her and by those who wanted to know her. A few photographs have survived. The description above is based on Berry's reading of a photo taken around 1926.

We don't know for certain where she was born or why there were at least two stories about her birthplace. The family Bible was allegedly lost in floodwaters that "ravaged New Orleans in 1965" (Berry, 1995, p. 67). Mother Leafy Anderson's obituary locates her birth in 1887 in Balboa, Wisconsin; this was probably actually Baraboo, since no town called Balboa seems to have existed in Wisconsin (Berry, 1995, p. 66). Other sources claim her birthplace as Norfolk, Virginia (Berry, 1995, p. 67). One descendent claims that Mother Anderson was born out of wedlock and thus kept the exact information about her birth a mystery. Perhaps it is fitting that mystery marks her birth, as it did her life.

We do know that in 1914, her name appears in a Chicago city directory. It was here that she established her first congregation and the first of twelve churches under the name of the

Eternal Life Christian Spiritualist Churches (ELCC). She was taken back to Chicago for burial after her death, December 12, 1927. She would have been only about 40 years old.

In between her birthing and burying time, Mother Anderson established a religious tradition in Chicago and New Orleans. She may have been married and she may have had a son. She may have spent some time in Raceland, Virginia where she "had so many herbs and fruits growing around her home...that people thought the herbs were for voodoo stuff" (Berry, 1995, p. 67). Whatever her early life, the time in Chicago is documented, but blurred. Evidence exists that she founded the first ELCC church in 1913 in Chicago (Berry, 1995, p. 67). The research of David Estes, associate professor of English at Loyola, suggests that Anderson also "ran a lunch counter several doors down from her residence on the South Side" between 1914 and 1917 (Berry, 1995, p. 111).

By 1920 she had established a church in New Orleans. She may have arrived there as early as 19'8, according to Zora Neale Hurston (Berry, 1995, p. 112). The working class neighborhoods where she ministered were a mix of ethnic groups—Irish, African, Italian and others. All were poor, oppressed and hungry for a sense of place, a sense of self and a sense of community. Churches could provide a space for all three elements to emerge. During the years in New Orleans, Mother Anderson's work of establishing these places of worship and celebration also provoked some skepticism and scorn. Stories survive that tell of the police accusing her of practicing medicine without a license. They thought she was doing voodoo (Berry, 1995, p. 113). She was allegedly arrested for leading a candlelight march without a permit. Even her sexual orientation was called into question. Whether these allegations are true or not, they signify the kind of energy that surrounded this woman and her power to inspire or challenge.

In November of 1926, just about a year before her death, the *Louisiana Weekly* reported a four-day gathering of Spiritualist churches where Rev. L. Anderson, the "supreme president and beloved pastor" presided. Ministers came from Florida, Chicago, Houston and New Orleans, many of whom she had trained.

The Appeal of an Integrated Ministry

Mother Anderson's ministry integrated a variety of practices that reflected both Christian and non-Christian religious traditions. Some aspects of her services were conventional. She opened with hymns, scripture reading and prayer. Healing and prophecy marked the sermons. "...she ended with the 'Phenomena,' which is telling selected individuals about their future..." (Berry, 1995, p. 63). This practice which, according to one account, was "a very definite racket to land a few bucks without any hesitancy" (Berry, 1995, p. 63), and her insistence on charging a fee for everything, caused some to question her motives. Others however, understood the fact that it cost money to buy buildings for churches, to furnish them, and to provide services.

The less conventional practices included use of exorcism, recalling of spirits and healing that also marked Mother Anderson's services. She hired jazz ensembles to perform at her services. She wrote plays, including one that featured the constructed story of her life, "The Life of Mrs. Leafy Anderson—Mortal and Immortal" (Berry, 1995, p. 60). She played the leading role.

Into the fabric of this tapestry of teachings, she wove images of Black Hawk, a Sac tribal leader, presented as a spirit guide, "a symbolic statement of justice" (Berry, 1995, p. 61). Paintings and three-dimensional representations of Black Hawk adorned the altar of her church. His character appeared in pageantry. She invoked his spirit through prayer and ceremony.

The Spirit of Black Hawk

Why Black Hawk? When in Mother Anderson's life did she come to know about this Native American who died before she was born and who lived a life in a landscape and culture very different from her own? This, too, is a mystery. To understand this connection, we must put together fact and fancy, truth with conjecture. And to begin, we need to understand a little about the life of Black Hawk.

Black Hawk was born in a Sac Indian village in 1767. He lived most of his life in the Rock River Valley in northwestern Illinois and southern Wisconsin. French fur traders, the first non-native inhabitants, began exploiting the area in the 1600s. Most reports claim they lived compatibly with native inhabitants. In the early 1800s, however, the expansion of European colonization of lands claimed as the "United States" began to move into this river valley. Between 1804 and 1832, battles between native inhabitants and the military threatened the cultural sustainability of Black Hawk and others of the Sac nation in this area. By this time, Black Hawk was an older but persistent warrior—one of the last to give up the fight. Displaced, starving and weary from the broken promises of lands and peace by the United States government, Black Hawk finally surrendered in 1832 (Jackson, 1990).

After the surrender, Black Hawk dictated his biography and was honored periodically by both white and Native American groups (Jackson, 1990). Little is known about his final years. He died in 1838.

Today, statues commemorate the man and his legend in Rock Island and in Oregon, Illinois. Just north of Oregon, on a high bluff above the Rock River stands a100 foot cement monolith, designed by Chicago artist/sculptor Lorado Taft. This statue was constructed in 1911. Taft designed the figure to represent the spirit of the "Eternal Indian," but the legend of Black Hawk was so pervasive in this region, the statue became known as "Black Hawk."

Connecting the Spirits

> In her own way, Leafy Anderson was a rebellious spirit. Whereas Black Hawk battled vainly to withstand the crush of white dominance, Leafy scattered seeds of a belief system that invoked spirits to ward off forces of the conventional world...A drama of Indian retribution would have been charged with meaning for black people of New Orleans in the 1920s. (Berry, 1995, p. 63)

So, how did Mother Leafy come to know Black Hawk? What were the possible connections? There is no documentation about this. We can only conjecture based on how the places and personalities of these two leaders interfaced.

First of all, if Mother Anderson were, in fact, born in Wisconsin, she would have been raised in the same lands that Black Hawk inhabited. The Sac people ranged throughout the area where Mother Anderson may have spent her childhood. Black Hawk passed on in 1838, just about 50 years prior to Anderson's birth. She may have grown up with the legends of the native peoples of her place. Mother Anderson, in fact, claimed ancestry with the Mohawk[1] people (Berry, 1995, p. 60). She is described as having "high cheek bones" in the opening paragraph of this paper—a common, if not altogether scientific, way of assigning Native American heritage.

Although not commonly acknowledged by either group or the dominant culture, Africans in the Americas and Native Americans shared a chapter in the history of early colonization.

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[1] The Mowhawk tribe was a member of the Iroquois Confederacy which occupied the northeastern region of North America, where New York and Pennsylvania are now located (Cleland, 1992, map 1).

Whenever possible, African people brought to this country as slaves escaped and often found refuge with Native Americans. This is recorded from the early 1400s in South and North America (Hine & Thompson, 1998; Katz, 1997). The legends of those times may have even been part of Africana folklore. For example, Katz (1997) documents in his work on black Indians, "So many slaves fled to the Six Nations of the Iroquois confederacy that, in 1726, a governor of New York made the leading chiefs promise to return all fugitives in their villages. They gave their word. In 1764 Hurons also promised. The next year Delawares promised. None ever returned a single slave" (p. 111).

Native Americans welcomed the Africans. For some tribes this practice was part of their ethos. They also recognized the skills and knowledge that African slaves brought to the villages. African slaves were "experts on whites—their diplomacy, armaments, motives, strengths, and weaknesses. Escaped slaves came bearing knowledge of their masters' languages, defenses and plans" (Katz, 1997, p. 28-29). This knowledge was invaluable in the defense of native life, especially once it was recognized that the white man was a common adversary. Both peoples also shared some basic values:

> Family was of basic importance to both, with children and the elderly treasured. Religion was a daily part of cultural life, not merely practiced on Sundays. Both Africans and Native Americans found they shared a belief in economic cooperation rather than competition and rivalry. Each race was proud, but neither was weighed down by prejudice. Skill, friendship, and trust, not skin color or race were important. Since Indians willingly adopted people into their villages, Africans found they were welcome. (Katz, 1997, p. 29)

At one-time, it was estimated that about 1/3 of all U. S. people of African descent had Indian ancestry. The total was much higher in Latin America (Katz, 1997, p. 3). Historians of the dominant culture have treated black Indians as invisible like they did with the stories and contributions of most people of color. However, there was a time when this relationship was acknowledged—and feared.

Another place of connection between Mother Anderson and Black Hawk may have been Chicago. Jean Batiste Point Du Sable, a black Frenchman, is recognized as the city's founder. Du Sable was born in the Caribbean around 1745, the son of a French sailor and an African slave woman. He came to the Illinois Territory in 1779 to become a fur trader. Black Hawk would have been 13 years old; his people may have traded with DuSable. DuSable married a Potawatomi Indian woman and maintained friendships and business relationships with many native peoples of the Great Lakes regions. With this early history of African and Native American interdependency, it is possible that the oral traditions of DuSable and Blackhawk were a part of the community one hundred years or so later when Mother Anderson lived there.

A third connection may have been through artist/sculptor Lorado Taft. Taft designed the "Black Hawk" statue, unveiled in 1911, and that still stands above the Rock River near Oregon. Taft lived and worked in Chicago during the time that Mother Leafy lived there. Other pieces of his work can be found in Grant Park and in various places around the city and country. The publicity that the statue received may have rekindled Anderson's interest and commitment to the Native American spirit that mingled with her Africana roots.

The Legacy of Leafy Anderson

However she came to be in New Orleans, that city seems to be where she made her "place" and rooted her legacy. Her incorporation of Native American image and ritual certainly

distinguished her ministry. Nineteenth-century spiritualism was especially popular among Creole people. Creole is an assimilation of French, Spanish, Native American and African bloodlines and cultural traditions (Hine & Thompson, 1998, p. 54). The Native American and African religious traditions included beliefs that spirits moved between the worlds of the living and the non-living. They also believed in the power of non-human elements, including the use of plants for medicine and in initiating mind-altering states (Hine & Thompson, 1998; Niethammer, 1977).

Certainly, when she set up church-keeping in New Orleans, she found a community with sensitivity and perhaps even a hunger for that connection to be celebrated. The music, the medicine, the mystery were deep traditions among Creole people—and especially those who had not abandoned that part of themselves and their sense of community to hegemonic forces. "As subjugated people, Indians and Africans had to devise strategies for enduring and for keeping hold of core beliefs" (Berry, 1995, p. 89). The "talking drums" of African traditions resonate with the drumming traditions of Native Americans. In Africa, too, chants, ritual drama, dance in wide rings and long lines honored the dead and the mysteries of creation. Many African tribes wore elaborate costumes with masks that represented the spirit faces of the ancestors, deities of animals, and the forces of nature (Berry, 1995, p. 88). All of this ritual and pageantry would have been familiar to the Native Americans of New Orleans.

These practices provided what historian Herbert Gutman called, "cultural passageways" (Hine & Thompson, 1998). These practices bonded both peoples to historical memory—a sense of place, a sense of self and a sense of community. Other scholars also suggest the deeper symbolism of these practices. The original spiritualist movement "sought to prove immortality of the soul through communication with spirits of the dead" (Berry, 1995, p. 68). However, according to historian Ann Braude, the movement represented a broader mission of "rebellion against death and rebellion against authority" (Berry, 1995, p. 69).

Mother Anderson built on other legends besides those of Black Hawk. Beyond this ministry of mystery was also the inclusion of music, drama and adult education. She held classes in prophecy, healing, praying and seeing spirits. She also taught some people how to read the Bible. It was perhaps these attributes of her work that made her most noticed. In retrospect her ministry could be described as distinguished by the practices of a woman's way of knowing (Belenky, Bond & Weinstock, 1997). She was not the first spiritualist to do this.

Among other forces already discussed, the practice of French men in New Orleans having mistresses had resulted in a large group of free black women and their children acquiring property. Property meant wealth and power. Marie Laveau (circa 1790-1881) was one of those women. She earned a reputation as a practitioner of voodoo, able to cure illnesses and to see the future, including which candidate for public office might win the election. At the time of her death she was considered "the most powerful black woman of the nineteenth century in America" (Hine & Thompson, 1999, p. 61). Marie and her daughter, also named Marie, are part of a black mythology that is an expression of resistance and rebellion. She is remembered today in song and story. Linda Dahl points out in the book, *Stormy Weather*, "that the 'defiance, pride, posturing and boastfulness, and the vivid symbolism of these voodoo-queen songs [are] qualities that mark the later compositions of the blueswomen' " (Hine & Thompson, 1999, p. 61). Marie Laveau helped set the stage for Mother Anderson and her disciples.

Catherine Seals (1887-1930) was born in Kentucky and came to New Orleans at age 16. She first worked as a domestic and eventually became a disciple of Mother Anderson. With the help of her followers, she acquired land and developed a place called the "Manger." There she provided shelter to the homeless and to unwed mothers and their children. In other words, she established a community-based social service. This was probably long before social services

were available in the lower Ninth Ward, still a "semi-rural area straddling the Mississippi, downriver from the city proper...[where] people hunted rabbit and possum in the fields; drainage was poor, and some were prone to flooding" (Berry, 1995, p. 13).

Berry reports that a line of reverend mothers, bishops and deacons have kept the Spiritual churches alive since Mother Anderson and Mother Catherine passed on. These included, but are not limited to, Mother Dora Tyson, Bishop Bessie S. Johnson, Mother Kate Francis, and Reverend Jules Anderson who was presiding at the Guiding Light Spiritual Church when Berry did his research.

Crossing borders of time and tradition, some of these women went on to found chapels, storefront tabernacle and places that took in unwed mothers and their children. These matriarchs and healers used Black Hawk as a spirit guide to confer the concepts of strength and resilience. As one practitioner stated in Berry's interviews:

> [Black Hawk] is a warrior. He don't stand for any foolishness. When I was dealing with Black Hawk...I had an attitude that I didn't have to take anything, you know, I felt like I could fight for what I wanted and win...I feel that Black Hawk has always been a part of the black spirit. We was took from Africa and that left us—we didn't he r any of those drums. It was the Indians that brought us back to the drums and the music...Black Hawk was unable to accomplish all that he wanted but his spirit is still, every day, giving justice to folks by the hundreds. (Berry, 1995, pp. 19-22)

Conclusion

I believe that Mother Anderson is part of a legacy of women's way of knowing and working (Belenky, Bond & Weinstock, 1997). This women's way is not exclusive to Africana women, but it is characteristic of many of them. It is a part of being woman and a part of being oppressed.

> Accomplishment. Cultural expression. Resistance to oppression. These three characteristics distinguish the history of black women in America. At times they are in conflict with each other and at times they coalesce to create moments of glory, but they are always there. (Hine & Thompson, 1998, p. 20)

In New Orleans Mother Anderson experienced one of those "moments." She stood on the shoulders of black women who "had a strong determination to be free and were able, even more often than men, to make freedom a realty" (Hine & Thompson, 1999, p. 58). These women found a way—a place and a process— to have a voice at a time when law and convention did not allow women of any color to have much of a voice. The sheer act of "coming to voice" was an act of resistance in itself. "Speaking becomes both a way to engage in active self-transformation and a rite of passage where one moves from being object to being subject. Only as subjects can we speak. As objects, we remain voiceless— our beings defied and interpreted by others" (hooks, 1989, p. 12). Mother Anderson used her own voice and that of Black Hawk to make that rite of passage. Ironically, his placelessness helped her find and maintain a place. From there, she used her voice to keep his legend alive. "Women's abilities to raise up others (whether to private or public homeplaces) are cultivated through continuous reflection on highly valued work and the creation of a subculture where the ideas can be discussed, solidified and taught to the next generation" (Belenky, 1996. p. 417).

The author hopes that this investigation will stimulate interest in the role that the spiritual and the fear of the spiritual played in allowing some women to come to voice—to be allowed to

practice their beliefs, to preach, to teach and to heal. History reveals that in some cases, women were destroyed for those practices. However, despite this fact, these traditions have survived just as Mother Anderson's traditions have survived...and that may be the greatest mystery of all.

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Female Circumcision: Genital Mutilation

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Abstract: Female circumcision, genital mutilation is a rite of passage in some countries, primarily African and middle eastern. It is an unfortunate passage that has adversely impacted many young girls and young women, some die and others are subjected to a lifetime of tremendous pain and suffering. This paper provides a brief overview of the problem and prevalence of female circumcision, genital mutilation.

Female circumcision is a culturally based ritual in which young girls and women are subject to partial, or the total cutting away of their genitalia. This practice reflects the sexual attitudes of a number of African and middle eastern nations. Female circumcision is performed in preparation for marriage, to ensure chastity and as a rite of passage to womanhood. It is an ongoing practice afflicting millions of young girls and women with physical and psychological scarring that's not reversible.

There is no reliable data that indicates where female circumcision began or how it was initially performed. However, circumcised females have been discovered among the mummies of ancient Egyptians (Kouba & Muasher, 1985, p. 95).

Female circumcision was performed in the early 19th century in Europe and the United States. Physicians, lacking and understating of physiology and knowledge of bacteriology were frustrated in their attempts to prevent or cure disease.

> In desperation, physicians intensified their use of the traditional therapeutics, bleeding, blistering, vomiting purging and sweating, heroic therapy which only served to increase public suspicion of the profession. Seeking to compensate for their inability to deal with disease, physicians increasingly began assuming the role of moral leaders. In the process they seized upon issues such as abortion and masturbation (Duffy, 2000, p. 1).

Masturbation was of no great concern until the second half of the 19th century. Some moralists express concern that to save individual souls to preserve the fabric of the society masturbation should stop. Nevertheless, it was not until the issue was transformed from a moral question into a medical condition that it became a salient problem. Two societal groups became targets of exploitation relative to the issue of masturbation.

The first group were individuals admitted to "Lunatic Asylums." The superintendent of an asylum in Massachusetts reported in an 1848 annual report that 32 percent of his admissions were for "self-pollution." Self-Pollution was one of several euphemisms for masturbation. The second group, were individuals, male and female who sought medical advice because of physical and mental agitation. It was reported that males and females who masturbated were in real danger. Males were endangered because the loss of semen caused damage to the brain and nervous system. Females were viewed as delicate, sensitive, frail, and emotional creatures. Hysteria, convulsions, palpitation, haggard features, and cancer were caused or aggravated by masturbation.

To solve the male problem with masturbation an array of mechanical devices were constructed. They included such objects as strait jackets, genital cages, and penis rings with sharp points on the inside, laymen constructed these devices. Physicians used more hands on techniques, such as leeches applied to the genitals, mild acid solutions, and bloodletting for serious cases. Physicians reported that women seldom if ever admitted to self-stimulation/masturbation (Duffy, 2002). Nevertheless, circumcisions were performed on some women and teen-age girls. In an 1894 medical journal a physician described how he had "liberated the clitoris" of a fourteen year old schoolgirl from its adhesions and lectured the patient on the dangers of masturbation. Clitoridectomies were rare in America. The surgery performed in 1894 was one of the last reported by a surgeon in America. By 1924 masturbation was viewed as normal for some individuals with associated problems originating from their worldview. Circumcisions in America were predicated on misguided morality and physicians' self-fulfilling prophecy (grounded less expectations that were confirmed because they were expected).

On the continent of Africa female circumcision is more prevalent that anywhere else in the world (Kouba & Muasher, 1985). Questions that come to mind are why, what, and how? Why has this seemingly aggressive behavior toward women and young girls been condoned by notable African leaders past and present. The late Jomo Kenyatta of the Kikuyu tribe, nationalist leader, and president of Kenya from 1963 to 1978 stated in 1965:

> ...The custom and the initiation rite itself were part of tribal psychology and that this operation is still regarded as the vary essence of an institution which has enormous educational, social, moral and religious implications quite apart from the operation itself. For the present it is impossible for a member of the tribe to imagine an initiation without clitordectomy. Therefore, the abolition of the surgical element in this custom means to the abolition of the whole institution (Kouba & Muasher, 1985, pp. 102, 103).

Female circumcision varies based upon the dictates of the family. There are five procedures that are performed:

1. Mild Sunna: the pricking of the prepuce of the clitoris with a sharp instrument, such as a pin, which leaves little or no damage. Sunna means "tradition" in Arabic.
2. Modified Sunna: the partial or total excision of the body of the clitoris.
3. Clitoridectomy/Excision: the removal of part or all of the clitoris as well as part or all of the labia minora. The resulting scar tissues may be so extensive that they cover the vaginal opening.
4. Infibulation/Pharaonic Circumcisions: consists of clitoridectomy and the excision of the labia minora as well as the inner walls of the labia majora. The raw edges of the vulva are sewn together with catgut or held against each other by means of thrones. The suturing together, or approximation of the raw edges of the labia majora, is done so that the opposite sides will heal together and form a wall over the vaginal opening. A small sliver of wood (such as bamboo) is inserted into the vagina to stop coalescence of the labia majora in front of the vaginal orifice and to allow for the passage of urine and menstrual flow.
5. Introcision: the enlargement of the vaginal orifice by tearing it downwards manually or with sharp instrument (Kouba & Muasher, 1985, p. 96).

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How is this rite of passage conducted and how many young girls and women are subjected to it? There is a female circumcised/mutilated every five minutes. It is estimated that 130 million girls and women have been subjected to the cultural practice of circumcision. Female circumcision is performed in 28 African countries. The ritual is performed in Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Mali, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, North Sudan, Gambia, Burkina Faso, and Somalia; this is a partial listing (O'Connor, 1999).

How does a mother a father, or a family prepare a daughter, a child a young girl, or a young woman for circumcision? Fashion model Waris Diere from Somalia, relived her horrifying rite of passage in Reader's Digest with excerpts from her book, "Desert Flower."

> The actual details of the ritual are never explained to the girls…It's a mystery. You know that something special is going to happen when your time comes. Originally the process occurred when the girls reached puberty, but through time it has been performed on younger and younger girls. One evening when I was about five, my mother said to me, "your father ran into the gypsy woman. She should be here any day now." The night before my circumcision, the family made a special fuss over me and I got extra food at dinner. Mama told me not to drink too much water or milk. I lay awake with excitement until suddenly she was standing over me, motioning… We walked out into the brush…I heard the click-click of the gypsy woman's sandals. "Sit over there." She motioned toward a flat rock. There was no conversation. She was strictly business. Mama positioned me on the rock. She sat behind me and pulled my head against her chest, her legs straddling my body. I circled my arms around her thighs. She placed a piece of root from an old tree between my teeth. "Bite on this." I was frozen with fear. Mama leaned over and whispered, "try to be a good girl, baby. Be brave for mama, and it'll go fast". The old woman foraged through an old carpetbag and fished out a broken blade. I saw dried blood on the jagged edge. She spit on it and wiped it on her dress. While she was scrubbing, my world went dark as mama tied a blindfold over my eyes. The next thing I felt was my flesh being cut away. I heard the blade sawing back and forth through my skin. The feeling was indescribable…I prayed, please, God, let it be over quickly. Soon it was, because I passed out. When I woke up, my blindfold was off and I saw that the gypsy woman had piled a stack of thorns from an acacia tree next to her. She used them to put holes in my skin, then poked a strong white thread through the holes to sew me up. My legs were completely numb, but the pain between them was so intense that I wished that I would die. My memory ends at that instant, until I opened my eyes and the old woman was gone. My legs had been tied together with strips of cloth binding me from my ankles to my hips so I couldn't move. I turned my head toward the rock; it was drenched with blood as if an animal had been slaughtered there. Pieces of my flesh lay on top drying in the sun (Dirie & Miller, 1999, pp. 190-192).

Dirie's family prepared a hut, where she stayed for weeks and recuperated. Her mother and sister brought food and water and nursed her back to health. Many circumcisions are

performed in secrecy. To date there is no reliable data that indicates the number of females who have died as a result of this ritual.

Many women and young girls who survive this ordeal have ongoing complications for a lifetime. One complication is related to infibulations (the suturing together of the labia). This procedure often leaves an opening the size of a matchbox for urine and menstrual blood to flow. Urinary tract problems are common and many times the women are not aware of the genesis. They aren't aware that it is not normal to take 15 minutes to urinate or 10 days to complete a menstrual cycle, since it has always been that way. (Dirie & Miller, 1999).

"Female genital mutilation has been called the three feminine sorrows, the day of mutilation, the night of marital consummation, and the birth of a child (O'Connor, 1999, p. 8). Yet, many mothers condone circumcision for their daughters because their mothers, grandmother, aunts, sister, and father support this rite of passage. The "everyone is doing it," comes to mind when one researches this custom. It affects about 130 million women in 28 African countries today, and is one of the world's major public health problems. Rather than diminishing with
modernization, female genital cutting (FGC) instead has been expanding (Mackie, 1998, p. 1).

In 1993 it was disclosed that trained health personnel in Africa were performing female genital mutilation on African girls to make some extra money. The World Health Organization (WHO) published and globally circulated the following statement since 1982: "The WHO has consistently and unequivocally advised that FGM should not be practiced by any health professionals in any setting-including hospitals or other health establishments" (Harnum, 2000, p. 2).

Females' genital mutilation is considered a Federal crime and a violation of some state laws (Federal Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act of 1966). This law was enacted because of a proliferation of circumcisions in the United States. The global distance between nations of the world is fading away through immigration, but FGM is not. "While FGM for women under the age of 18 is a criminal offense in the US, the Centers of Disease Control and Prevention estimates that there are populations at risk in 12 states and 11 metropolitan areas: California, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, Virginia; also the District of Columbia. Metropolitan areas: Atlanta, GA; Boston, MA; Chicago, IL; Dallas, TX; Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA; Newark, NJ; New York City, NY; Oakland, CA; Philadelphia, PA; and surrounding NJ area; and Washington, D.C." (O'Connor, 1999, p. 9).

The Clinton administration (U.S Agency for International Development) has decided to provide financial and technical assistance to African organizations that are working to eradicate female genital mutilation..."The move, which is at the early stage of reviewing grant proposals, is part of an enormous change in foreign aid philosophy under the Clinton administration" (Mann, 1994, p. E3).

The eradication of female circumcision is an enormous task. While some women are working to end the practice others support it. There is a fear that their daughters would be unmarriageable if they don't conform to the male expectation for the chaste wife. With all the pain and suffering this ritual is rooted deeply in the cultural mores.

> The elimination of female circumcision in Africa will be a slow and complex process. While any program committed to its eradication must approach the problem with a great deal of sensitivity, traditional beliefs should not obscure

> medical reality. Those traditional beliefs which impact on women need to be modified by implementing broader policies aimed at improving the overall status of women in Africa (Kouba & Muasher, 1985, p. 108).

Female circumcision/genital mutilation must end. It is causing needless pain and suffering to young girls and women in the Motherland. However, the approach to this end must be one of understanding and sensitivity. There must be an understanding of the cultural foundation on which female circumcision endures. There must be sensitivity to mothers, fathers, and grandmothers who love their daughters, yet subject them to this ritual. They should not be viewed as the enemy.

The mutilations will end when mothers and daughters share their private pain with each other. When husbands and wives say, not our daughter, the price is too high. A lifetime of pain and suffering is too long.

Leaving female circumcision behind will be a process, rarely does a people or nation awaken one morning and say, that's it, we won't mutilate another human being. But, female circumcision will end.

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Opening the Door to Make Space:
A Literature Review of the Qualitative Method of Life History

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Abstract: When we are trying to understand the life of another person, there are various qualitative research techniques that can be successfully employed. A powerful one is life history. It is the purpose of this paper to investigate the qualitative method of life history that has eloquently and importantly begun to establish an audience for voices that have been marginalized by race, age, class, gender, and/or ethnicity.

Introduction

In Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials, Denzin and Lincoln (1998, p.24) write, "there is no clear window into the inner life of an individual." They explain "we must remember that each individual has his or her own social history and an individual perspective on the world" (p. 73). These authors also remind us "to learn about people we must remember to treat them as people, and they will uncover their lives to us" (p. 73). Life history embraces these important considerations.

According to Bogdan and Biklen, "When the intent is to capture one person's interpretation of his or her life, the study is called a life history" (1998, p. 3). Two other authors, Rubin and Rubin expand this idea by explaining "Life histories focus more on the experiences of an individual and what he or she felt as he or she passed through the different stages of life. Life histories can tell us about life's passages; they can also provide a window on social change" (1995, p. 27).

Atkinson (1998) also offered advice about creating life histories. He interchanges the terms life history and life story in his ninety-five page text and defines them both as a "search for uniqueness" (p. v). Some of his invaluable advice included: "The life story is like a tool that has as many applications as the one using it can find for it" (p. 2). "The life story as a narrative form has evolved from the oral history, and other ethnographic and field approaches" (p. 3). "The point of the life story is to give people the opportunity to tell their story the way they choose to tell it" (p. 9). "The person sharing his or her life story is the teacher. The person receiving another's life story is the student' (p. 71). "What people include in a life story tells who they are at their core" (p. 14). "To balance out the data bases that have been relied on for so long in generating theory, more life stories need to be recorded of women and members of culturally diverse groups" (p. 18). "We need to hear the life stories of individuals from those underrepresented groups to help establish a balance in the literature and expand the options for us all on the cultural level" (p. 19).

Armstrong explains "the life history method had its early development in Chicago at approximately the same time that interactionism was being given its initial impetus, and this is no accident" (1987, p. 54). "The style of the life history approach is to provide often rather lengthy extracts which may be largely descriptive" (p. 4). "The life history

method is not exclusive – it may be used in conjunction with other methods, such as participant observation, interviews or even questionnaires" (p. 93).

Just as important, Sokolovsky states "life history interviewing specifically focuses on how people make meaning of their lives" (1996, p. 281). Atkinson expands this idea by explaining "the point of the life story is to give people the opportunity to tell their story the way they choose to tell it" (1998, p. 9). These are key issues regarding reliability and validity. For, those who choose to use the qualitative research method of life history must acknowledge that they "are really seeking the insider's viewpoint on the life being lived. The storyteller should be considered both the expert and the authority on his or her own life" (Atkinson, 1998, p. 59).

Tierney believes "the life story, then, is a fiction; first it is a memory of one person, and then, it is developed between the researcher and the researched" (March 1998, p. 64). It is often hoped that a life history can be described by a combination of the following terms: *rich*, *deep*, *thick*, *textured*, *insightful* and *illuminative* (Shank, 2002).

Chris Carger uses life history to illustrate what it means to be a Mexican immigrant in the United States, particularly in a public school setting. Her book, Of Borders and Dreams: A Mexican-American Experience of Urban Education (1996) poignantly portrays its young protagonist, Alejandro, and his struggles inside and outside of Chicago's public schools. One section in her book that vividly describes the day-to-day life battles of Alejandro and his family was especially touching. It explained:

> A simple daily event like receiving mail, taken for granted as a routine occasion for literacy by many, is a struggle in Alejandro's home. He is relied on to decipher what arrives at home, but he still lacks the decoding skills to comprehend accurately. One day while visiting his home I watched him try to figure out a sales promotion that arrived through the mail from a department store chain. His four siblings crowded around him at the kitchen table with anxious faces as he looked with confusion at the packet of information addressed to his father. "My Dad told me to look at this for him," he said (p. 8).

Other Ways of Knowing

It appears that there is no one way to create a life history. Some examples relied more heavily on interviewing techniques while others focused more heavily on participant observation. Some life histories are autobiographical while others are life story narratives of individual lives and experiences. It is important to note that Atkinson believes "It is not necessary to try to interpret what you have from a life story interview against quantitative standards of analysis" (1998, p. 59). This means that the reliability and validity of a life history are present in that "the storyteller knows the story being told and that it is a truthful and thorough representation of that story" (Atkinson, 1998, p. 59).

The creation of a life history is fluid in that it allows the researcher and the subject to work together in the way that best suits them and their needs. Bogdan and Biklen explain:

> The feasibility of a life-history case study is mostly determined by the nature of the potential subject.....Researchers who do these kind of case studies usually fall into them. They do not decide on the "type" of subject

> they want to interview and then go out looking for an example. Rather, they meet a person who strikes them as a good subject and then decide to pursue it (1998, p. 57).

Atkinson writes:

> Life stories and personal narratives are increasingly being used in a wide range of disciplines and settings. Whether it is for research purposes on a particular topic or question or to learn more about human lives and society in general ways from one person's perspective, life stories serve as excellent means for understanding how people see their own experiences, their own lives, and their interactions with others (1998, p. 74).

Armstrong tells us "the life history method has become a much more tried and tested method of research, and has increasing recognition in standard methodology texts" (1984, p. 3-4). "The life history offers many possibilities of becoming a core research practice which can adequately reflect its theoretical underpinnings" (p. 6). "There is no one single life history method, but a range of strategies which can be employed, built around the construction and analysis of individuals' biographies..." (p. 18). "We ought to, firstly, allow such people to speak for themselves, and the method does give them a 'legitimate' voice to be heard, and secondly, to take account of the societal context in which those actions take place" (p. 11). In other words, life history can serve as a very effective means to give voice to those often omitted from the mainstream.

Hones reminds us of the value of the continued use of life histories when he states: "Lives go on, stories are changed and reinterpreted, and there is no end" (1998, p. 245). As our society continues to change, life history will continue to be an important tool for giving voice to the voiceless. For, it is often in what Cary calls "unexpected stories" (1999) that the most can be learned. This learning can be done by many: the interviewee, the interviewer, and the larger society.

My Own Use of Life History

When I reflect on my interest in life histories and how they can give voice to marginalized groups, I vividly remember specific instances from my past in which I saw others ostracized. Years later, I recall these negative experiences and I have learned to accept the fact that as a young child, I couldn't have changed the way things happened. Still, to this day, though, I feel a very strong sense of injustice and anger caused by some of these incidences. As an adult, I have embraced many different roles with the hope that I have the power to prevent the marginalization of the people that I encounter. I believe in treating all people with respect and this has granted me opportunities to get to know people and to enjoy them and learn what's important to them. In turn, I have come to realize that I make meaning out of life by knowing and hearing the life histories of other people. One place where I have listened and helped others to create their life histories is my classroom.

As a Spanish Instructor, I have met many people who believe that native speaking Spanish students should not be allowed to formally study the Spanish language. I have never felt this way because as native English speakers, we have spent years attempting to

perfect our first language. Opening my classroom to native Spanish speaking students has granted me some of the most rewarding experiences in my teaching career. Some of these students have demonstrated a sense of commitment and a determination that I don't see in others who enter my classroom. The first Mexican heritage student that I worked with at the university where I currently teach very much exemplifies this.

Esperanza was the first such Mexican Heritage student to reach out to me. I was a newly hired Spanish teacher and she was a student who didn't understand why my predecessor had refused to allow her into his Spanish classroom. For, his syllabus specifically stated that no native speaker could enroll in his Spanish classes. When he left, she came to me to investigate the possibility of finally being able to study a language that was important to her. After she introduced herself, she lowered her eyes and admitted that she "knew Spanish, but I don't really know it." She wanted to speak Spanish in such a way that her family would be proud of her. She wanted to know "the rules, the accents and all." Two years later, Esperanza finished the five required classes for her Spanish minor and was much more adept at writing and using Spanish grammar.

Before Esperanza finished her Spanish classes, we spent a lot of time talking before and after class and I shared my interest in her life experiences with her. She quickly volunteered to tell me anything I wanted to know. In a letter she wrote to explain her first feelings upon enrolling in college she remembered:

> When I arrived at college I encountered culture shock. I had never truly experienced what it meant to be a minority. I grew up speaking my language, Spanish, and enjoying my music and customs. My taste had never been challenged and my freedom to speak Spanish was never at risk. At college I entered a whole different world that made it difficult to accept. I constantly heard comments about "those Hispanics who insist on speaking Spanish." In class, everyone's comments seemed so ignorant and close-minded. I could not believe that people were so rude. I missed my comfort zone and missed being around people who understood **me**.

With time, Esperanza did find her niche in college. She joined and became active in various student organizations and was especially instrumental in the activities of the Student Activity Planning Board and the Latin American Student Organization. Her senior year she was elected president of the student government and once again earned the respect of all of those with whom she worked. Her graduation day was an especially happy experience for her and her family in that she not only graduated from college as an example to her younger siblings, but she also received the highest honor given to a graduating senior at the institution where we met, the Spartan Award. It is with a strong sense of pride that Esperanza completed her bachelor's degree in social work and continues her education in law school with the hopes of one day buying her mom the home of her dreams.

One of the things that I most value about my current teaching position is that I continue to work with students such as Esperanza. Carolina is another student whose life story has emerged in my Spanish classes. I have watched Carolina change from a very soft-spoken individual to a woman who dreams about finishing her social work degree

and strongly impacting the Latino community by means of giving them a voice. In a paper, she wrote about how cruel young children her own age could be. She recalled:

> In the town where I lived there weren't any other Hispanics so all of my friends were Americans. They always invited me to sleep over but my mom would never let me. I remember that one time my mom let me sleep at a friend's house and it was a very bad experience. When I arrived to the enormous house, there were many girls. They all had pretty sleeping bags and were very well prepared. On the other hand, I had brought old blankets. Some of the girls started to laugh at me and began to tell me that I was garbage because I lived in the apartments with cockroaches. I was so embarrassed that I had to call my dad so that he would come pick me up.

Carolina's hope and resiliency shine through her mishaps, however. During a conversation in my home she smiled and promised me:

> I can learn from the people that are around me. I'm happy and all of my experiences haven't been bad. I don't have any call to complain, I mean people have been generally nice to me and so, I know a lot of people that do complain, and they say that they've experienced it, but my experiences for the most part have been positive.

I very much look forward to continuing to work with Carolina outside of an academic setting as we continue work on the construction of her life history.

Monica is the individual whose current roles most parallel mine. She is a thirty-six year old mother of two who tries to balance the demands of motherhood, work and graduate school. She is a Parish nurse truly dedicated to serving others. This past fall she was the main reason why a local newspaper ran a story about one of her parishioners who desperately needed a kidney transplant to survive. Within hours of running the story, she was informed that an anonymous donor would pay the eighteen thousand dollars for her patient to be flown to Mexico for his transplant. What was never mentioned in the newspaper story was that she spent countless hours counseling her patient and his non-English speaking family and the perseverance she demonstrated arranging a kidney transplant by means of long-distance phone calls to Mexican hospitals, doctors, airports and hotels.

Monica and I are in continuous contact with each other in that she brings our youngest children to preschool and I pick them up each day. During the few daily moments that we have time to talk, she will often make comments that leave a lasting impression on me. Once, when we were remembering one of the mothers who criticized "those working moms who don't want to raise their own children" she merely shrugged her shoulders and matter-of-factly said, "Now, honey, try adding *Latina* onto all of that. I will never fit into any stereotype of a *good Latina*." We have promised each other to get together and socialize more when the other demands in our lives diminish. I am confident that Monica's intriguing life story will enfold and prove of interest to me as our friendship is nourished by time and as our lives continue on very similar yet unique journeys.

My Own Conclusions about Life Histories

I believe in working with and supporting others. I believe that everyone should be given a voice and that as a society we should value each individual and recognize "that everyone has a story, even many, to tell about their lives and that they are indeed important stories" (Atkinson, 1998, p.3). For, "telling our story enables us to be heard, recognized and acknowledged by others" (ibid. p. 7). If Esperanza, Carolina, Monica or anyone else were to describe my relationship with them, I would want them to say that I am a person who listens to them and helps them find meaning in their experiences. I would also want them to say that I stand by them and help them through the joys and sorrows of life. I believe that friendships make lives richer and more fulfilling. It would also be important for them to acknowledge that telling their life stories has changed our relationship, them, and me in a positive manner. I look forward to this endeavor and agree with Atkinson when he explains:

> There is an exciting future for life stories and the narrative study of lives. Each life story we hear or read tells us that no person makes it alone through life. The individual is very much interdependent with others. The more we share our own stories, the closer we all become (1998, p. 76).
> has used the life history methodology extensively, Atkinson, continues:
> An experienced qualitative researcher who

> Many life storytellers I have worked with have spoken of how moving the experience of telling one's story and witnessing someone else's is. We share the gift of our story for the confirmation and clarity it gives us but even more for the lasting bond between human beings that is created through the sharing (1998, p. 76).

Life stories, their creation and their effects can indeed be timeless, priceless and valuable and need to be told, especially by those who have been marginalized by race, class, age, gender and/or ethnicity. For, as a society, we still have much to learn when dealing with others and life stories can accelerate this learning.

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Expanding the Small Space: Rastafari and Knowledge Production

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Abstract: This ethnographic research was guided by several questions: How do Rastafarians impact the dominant Jamaican culture? And how do Rastafarians contribute to the discourse on emancipation and liberation practices? The research involved an extensive literature review of Jamaican history, Rastafarian, Adult Education and Transformation and Transcendence. The following provides a synopsis of a larger body of research, *Expanding the Small Space: Rastafarians as Knowledge Producers* (Stanley, 2002).

The social implications for this study are numerous. First, the study demonstrates the significance of the use of oral history and the contributions it makes to deepen our understanding of the lived experiences of individuals from marginalized groups. Second, the co-reasoners had an opportunity to tell their stories. This helps position them to move into the role of "ambassadors" as they encounter other groups of people sharing their insights, experiences and narratives as they relate to issues of oppression and oppressive conditions throughout the world. Third, participants will be affirmed by voices that are familiar in saying "that without struggle there is no progress" (Douglass, 1957, p. 118). Next in moving into the larger community, we will see favorable circumstances in place that can bring strength and abundance to the social and educational platform of the Rastafarian movement. Finally, the insights are from authentic voices that have experienced and continue to experience what they describe.

Yawney (1998) suggests that the Rastafarian movement has developed an ideological-symbolic matrix that provides its members with a "rich complex of meaning and symbols," one through which they can filter the world they experience and by which they can shape their response to the pressures they feel. Yawney (1998) further says that "the Rastas seem to have evolved a dynamic model of the universe in terms of which members of the lower class, the dispossessed and oppressed, often illiterate, have been able both to construct a more satisfying and meaningful lifestyle for themselves, and to enrich their understanding of what is happening to them and why. This ideological-symbolic matrix functions as a lens through which Rastas experience and interpret the world. The Rastafarian ideological-symbolic matrix operates as the unifying element in the Rastafarian movement.

The Rastafarian movement incorporates many rituals that serve to shape and perpetuate the Rastafarian livity. One striking characteristic of this movement is the "Biblical symbolism" at the heart of the belief system. Because of the "Biblical symbolism"(Simpson, 1985, p. 286) the adherents of the Rastafari identity themselves with Ethiopia, an East African Country that claims three thousand years of independence. The symbolic significance conferred to Ethiopia is based on an interpretation of various Bible verses, of which Psalms 68:31 is often cited: "Princes come out of Egypt, Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God."

The Rastafarian movement is full of language, symbols and rituals that have sustained their individual, community and collective spirit. Symbols of Rastafari provide a gateway into the culture, reflect the experiences of the culture's participants, facilitate communication among members of the culture, reflect the culture's view of the world, the self and others, as well as

lodge a protest against certain values that support the structures and legacies of colonialism and neo-colonialism in Jamaica. The carriers of the culture utilize the symbols to redefine and reconstruct structures of meaning, expand boundaries and define terms and language that creates and makes meaning out of their lived experiences. The different symbols and rituals of the Rastafarian movement were shared, explained or clarified by the co-reasoners during my journey. In some instances I was only able to witness the phenomenon of symbols and rituals, and in other instances, I was able to engage in questions in reasoning sessions for further understanding.

The symbols that are created and utilized by the carriers of the culture reflect a particular value orientation and inform a distinct cultural discourse. They arise from the daily ipereinces of those who carry the culture and shape a narrative that conveys the meaning in the message. The symbols of the culture provide the carriers of the Rastafarian culture with a coherent worldview and ideology that challenges the dominant society by calling into question the values and norms of the dominant society.

It is through these symbols that the Rastafarian movement has been able to establish itself both in Jamaica and throughout the world. The creation and implementation of symbols has created a spiritual revolution for the people of the Rastafarian movement, as it gives members pride and dignity, which is the main ideal of the movement. Within the movement, the universal beliefs that are held include that everyone must discover the truth for him or herself. And that Jah (God) is within every person, although they recognize that divinity is more developed in some persons than others. Divinity is most desirable and evolved through Jah, or Haile Selassie, and that an immortal spirit lives within every living creature. Michael Kuelker (1999) states that the Rastafarian movement is a "culture of divine consciousness," and it is through these belief systems that personal transformation can take place within the movement. Rastas believe that through learning through one's culture, you are able to find a way to create happiness regardless of the hardships that you may face you in life.

The Rastafarian movement arose as a movement of dissonance and protest against the hegemonic oppression and dehumanization of the Black masses of Jamaica. The movement came out of the social, political, and spiritual and cultural consciousness of a people who found self-affirmative and cultural identity in Africa and their African disposition, as a means of surviving depersonalization and deprivation.

As much of the current research of Rastafarians shows, Afro-Caribbean people have been actively involved in the fight for social justice and equality from the onset of slavery. Their cultural and political struggles grew out of a history of oppression that shaped, created and recreated in them a sense of "somebodiedness," knowledge, and a deep commitment to their African identity. Rastafarians have struggled against racist oppression both in formal and overt ways and informal intangible covert ways as shown in their stories and narratives.

Reggae music is currently the dominant musical expression in Jamaica. One of its distinguishing characteristics is the sound of a throbbing bass and drums, combined to register a deliberate accent on the second and fourth beat of the musical bar. This sound emerged in the late 1960s when the social environment was charged with the Black power rhetoric of the United States. It was also informed by the celebrations of achievements of the civil rights movement and the strong nationalism that accented the 1962 achievements of Jamaica's independence from Britain. The development of reggae music is influenced by five musical traditions: British, African, folk, African-American and religious.

The co-reasoners in this study are the carriers of the culture, and seek an environment in which the quest to be human is synonymous with the desire to contain within oneself and express ideas, emotions, and values without fear of censorship. Several of the co-reasoners spoke of leaving the dominant culture and forming their own community in the hills, while others found a way to create a conscious living within the dominant culture. All of the co-reasoners spoke of the inequalities found in the dominant culture and their rejection of their laws and principles. Pursuit of liberation among the co-reasoners is motivated by the nationalistic impulses and sustained by a certain ideology, a myth that emerged from a sense of being victimized by the forces of evil. The political perspective of redemption is reflected in the philosophies of the Rastafarians as they seek to reverse the compromise of their status in the universe. It is their pursuit to overcome alienation and the relegation to a status of inferiority. In many of the reasoning sessions, the Rastas spoke in metaphors, using the words Exodus, for example.

The Rastafari has exhibited a contradictory position regarding gender. On the one hand, Rastamen, participate in the rearing of the children. Yet, the movement, in accordance with its "patriarchal ideology" (Yawney, 1994), has consistently relegated women to secondary status. Rastawoman, although referred to as "Queens," are often considered incapable of acquiring divine knowledge in their own right as indicated in research by many Rastafarian scholars.

These beliefs are manifested in various ways such as women's participation in rituals being drastically limited in some Rastafarian circles. However, within my travels, I met many Rasta women, as well as Rastamen, who do not share this perspective of their role in Rastafari. Rastawomen appear to take on many traditional female roles within the movement, i.e., wife and mother, cooking and cleaning. Many of the Rastawomen appeared to assume the role of teacher, sharing information within reasonings sessions with their children and other Rastafarian women. Much of the reasoning focused on ital living, developing a strong self-image and learning to participate within the family and other Rastafarian family units. As noted earlier, many of the Rastawomen are craftswomen and sell homemade jewelry, soaps, and herbs. Many of the women spoke of the love for her children, her Rastaman and the love of Jah. The concept of love was a large part of the reasoning sessions, and appears to be one of the main tenets of the Rastafarian movement. Many of the Rastafarian women spoke of the concept of "one love." The concept "one love,' can be heard in the popular song of Bob Marley "one love, one heart, lets get together and feel alright" (1977). The voices in this study show that Rastawomen are searching for a more integrated, respected place in the movement. The Rastawomen spoke of their developing self and cultural identity and have taken a more active role in the spiritual life of the movement as well. The Rastawomen in the study appear to be gaining more control over their own lives and have greater access to information from sources beyond the movement.

The study of Rastafarian women deserves its own research study. This research includes the stories of women but is limited in its treatment of women Rastas and the subtleties of their particular journey. Chevannes (1994), Turner (1994), and Yawney (1994) speak to the changing roles of women within the Rastafarian movement. Barbara Mekeda Lee one of the movement intellectuals of Rastafari, articulates the philosophy of the movement and writes about the emergence of Rastawomen within the movement.

Four themes belong to the conceptual category of identity: lens of knowing, self-identity, cultural identity, and collective identity. Two themes belong to the conceptual category of ideology: spiritual groundation and traversing reality. Each category mirrors the research

question, What is the impact of Rastafarians on the dominant culture. The narratives of the co-reasoners offer their views on both individual and collective responses to oppression.

Transformation through the iperiences of Rasta reasoning and livity provides a unique way of learning about themselves, about their cultural and political experiences in an ability to build a sense of self-identity, a source of pride and dignity and a way to transform society through "Chanting Down Babylon." The Rastas learned how to transform themselves through a livity of new belief systems, language, clothing, colors, food, music and rituals which allows individuals to transform themselves and become part of a larger collective. Drumming is seen as a transformative tool to enter into another level of reality. It has a hypnotic beat and engages all who enter as listeners, players or dancers. Drumming within its historical perspective honors the ancestors and connects the Rastafarians to their noble past with a fresh new look to the future. Spiritual transformation moved the sistren and bredren in this study to see themselves connected to things beyond themselves. They recognized connections and patterns and ways of knowing that became an integrated part of their individual and collective identity. It was through meditating, drumming and reasoning that provided them with the fuel to transgress the lifeworld they found themselves in.

Rastafarians provide important insights into the non-formal education strategies for adult educators interested in a more democratic and equal society. This study has demonstrated that ordinary people working collaboratively can become knowledge initiators and knowledge producers. Ordinary people have the capacity to develop a critical analysis, to find their voice in an attempt to promote justice and equality and to implement social action. This researcher strongly feels that as long as: (1) prejudice toward marginalized peoples and their cultures exist; (2) impoverishment exists in the face of wealth controlled by a small majority; (3) greed and selfishness drive our communities; and (4) political corruption mars the functioning of good government, there will be a dire need to hear the voice of Rastafari.

Adult education can contribute to the emancipatory and liberatory discourse by expanding the small space of knowing to include the voices of marginalized groups. Rastafarians provide us with a way at looking authentic ways of knowing through culture, language and history. Adult education can develop an I-N-I relationship within its practices. Our renewed focus must include how linguistics and symbols shape our social meaning. It is through this renewed commitment to listening to the voices of the Rastafarians that the small space can be expanded.

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Teaching for Transformation: Student Learning Through Ritual, Reggae and Literature

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Abstract: This paper offers three perspectives on the process of transformation by examining afro-centered rituals, reggae music and women's literature as a basis for transformation in adult education.

Introduction

Although an often neglected area in the adult education literature, the spiritual basis of education and the relationship between spirituality and teaching for transformation are becoming more popular topics of theorizing, research, and conference presentations (Hart & Holton, 1993; Palmer, 1983; Tisdell, 2000; Tolliver & Tisdell, 2001). There is more recognition of the value of acknowledging and supporting the reality and importance of spirituality in the lives of adult learners with whom many of us work.

As interest in the role of spirituality in education has boomed, some have looked to the wisdom of indigenous cultural groups, such as Native American practices and East Asian philosophies, for guidance in understanding this new, but at the same time, very old idea. It is less often that the philosophies of the continent of Africa are referred to, in spite of the richness of the cultures and spirituality in this part of the world. During my nearly 20 years of university teaching, training, and community education, I have attempted to infuse the curriculum with issues of culture and spirituality, with the intention of providing information about factors that can support optimal learning and can be used as tools for healing and transformation. African spirituality has strongly influenced my work. What follows is a brief discussion of how I use ritual, my knowledge of it grounded in my African and African-American cultural background, my spiritual practice, and my continuing learning about African spirituality, to facilitate transformative learning in an undergraduate course at my university.

Transfomation Through an African-centered Perspective

It is our hope that this offering attempts to provide information that many, if not most, students are unaware. They learn about the African ethos and traditional African philosophies that provide the foundation for African worldviews, then focus on specific issues that are relevant to the psychology of people of African descent. Spirituality, the Maafa, child development, intellectual functioning, racial identity, and healing are among the themes covered. Students become familiar with the ideas of historical and contemporary African-centered scholars in psychology and other academic fields, as they examine the impact of racism, oppression and the enslavement of African people on the lived experiences of African-Americans.

Through course activities, students are challenged to confront blatant myths, misconceptions and inaccuracies about people of African descent. With a new body of scholarly knowledge about

African diasporic people from African cultural realities, students are able to strengthen their own critical thinking skills, as they examine their sense of themselves in the world. For students of African descent, this may mean acknowledging how they internalize negative stereotypes and/or hold shame about various aspects of their culture. Non-African diasporic students often, for the first time, understand the concept of white privilege and see how they have accepted negative stereotypes and viewpoints that emerge out of a Eurocentric imperative.

It is hoped that, as a result of taking this course, all students will not only increase their knowledge about African-centered psychology, but they will also question their assumptions about the world, how it operates, who they are and their place in it. They should have a greater awareness and better understanding of various ways of knowing, while they examine the psychology of people of African descent in a manner that is more accurate and appropriate than the common Eurocentric analyses.

It is a challenging exploration, and one that embraces the OISE/UT definition of transformative learning, where students will be:

> ...experiencing a deep, structural shift in the basic premises of thought, feelings, and actions. It is a shift of consciousness that dramatically...alters our way of being in the world. Such a shift involves our understanding of ourselves...our visions of alternate approaches to living..."

At the heart of the African-centered approach is the desire for transformation on multiple levels, those of the individual and larger systems. Through engagement with the course material and activities, I hope that learners in my class go through a self-development process, where an ignorant self shifts into a more knowledgeable self, better understanding reality and its complexities more holistically. This constitutes transformation on the personal level. It is also hoped that a shift in self-concept and self-knowledge can facilitate commitment involvement in social action, social justice and social transformation activities. This can result in the transformation of larger systems.

Ritual in the Process of the Course

Ritual, because it is an important aspect of the African worldview, plays an important role in the process of this course. I begin class by pouring libations, a ritual of prayer, offering and "convocation for auspicious events." It acknowledges the Creator and asks for blessings to do the best work possible. It seems quite an appropriate activity for this particular class at the beginning of the teaching and learning journey, as it communicates the sacredness of the profane (ordinary) event of a class. I encourage learners to participate in the ritual at their own levels of comfort, whether that is simply standing, or joining in the call and response after the pouring of the libation liquid (usually water). Although many students are unfamiliar with this ritual when they initially come to the course, as time goes on, some, in fact speak of how it helps them shift into a more reverent psychological and spiritual energy with which to experience the class.

Next, we engage in a centering exercise, which includes the use of video, soothing music, and guided imagery. I introduce this by comparing it to cultural practices such as attune-ment or meditation; however it is probably more reminiscent of relaxation exercises. I have included this as a part of the class because it helps people prepare for the work of the class as they cycle down from the activities of their day. Students seem to appreciate its stress reducing benefits. As well, centering provides an opportunity and reminder for learners to be mindful, aware, and in the present moment. From an African-centered perspective, the slowing down that can occur

during the centering allows people to be more receptive to what is consciously known and what is available at levels that are non-conscious and non-material.

Symbols are also an important part of the classroom, which in many ways becomes not only the physical, but also the psychological, ritual space. Some (1998) describes symbols as the doorway to ritual, as they represent something greater than their obvious appearance. For example, I always light a candle at the beginning of class, symbolizing the guidance needed, enlightenment, and power inherent in the transformative learning journey. To represent those who have come before us in the struggle to learn and grow, students have often placed empty chairs in the middle of the classroom, fashioned after rituals that symbolize the reverence of Ancestors in traditional African culture (Mensah, personal communication, 1992). The empty chair technique is also known as a therapeutic tool among Western-trained psychologists (Field & Horowitz, 1998). Music, movement, and expressive arts are also ritual elements, often used as symbols, to help students access knowledge in ways other than cognitive, rational, conscious, and material.

Reggae Music as Transformation

It is our hope that we can experience Rastafarian way of knowing to enhance the learning environment of the students involved in a summer women studies course held at Northeastern Illinois University. Art can effectively instigate social and personal transformation when learning occurs through an accessible critical discourse rooted in social realities. The Rastafarian and the reggae cultural movements provide an informal medium for learning and presents possibilities for social and personal transformation through the generation of new voices and knowledge among students. Historically Black musical culture has always generated a socially conscious message communicated through song lyrics and seen in protest songs of resistance to social injustice from the old Negro spirituals to the blues, Reggae and hip-hop. It is through reggae song lyrics and elements of discourse about reggae music in relation to Rastafarian cultural practice that brings the shared experience of meaning making. Music and the effect of music can alter a person's definition of him or herself and lead to personal and social transformation as well as the cultural production of knowledge.

Women's Literature as Transformation

Traditionally, the concept of the sacred has been defined through the lens of males. Looking at the sacred through a female lens changes the focus, more than slightly. According to Elizabeth Dodson Gray (1988) men take personal experience, never naming it as such, and make it a universal. Women's sacred writings are rooted in their own subjective and particular lives. They give us the feeling of the day-to-day lives of each woman, the sights and sounds of people we might know. Looking at the sacred as out of the ordinary, as Gray says most male theologians do, make our own ordinary life seem barren or lack luster. While men attempt the move to higher ground, women are entrenched in the world around them, the very ordinary life of family and career. With this ordinariness they find beauty. Women look at the sacred and magical within the ordinary, appreciating and finding nourishment in the fleeting moments of wholeness.

Teaching can be the activity that engages us in moments of rest and reflection. It can provide the opportunity to look at the particular and to begin to see the sacred around us. Teaching is a sacred activity that allows each of us moments of transformation, moments when the path is clear and transformation is possible.

It is our hope that by using writings by women as a catalyst for personal transformation, women can begin to describe their own journeys as they grow and develop into the person that they thought they could be or find themselves deeper and richer than they ever dreamed possible. Women enrolled in a business management course at National Louis University describe what they thought was the reason for their enrollment in this course: new job, divorce, etc., were able to describe a deeper understanding of the transformative process that now leads them to a different level of knowing.

Findings

There are many types of knowing. We are most aware of our conscious knowing. However, spirituality, and its tool, ritual, may allow us access to the knowing that may allude our consciousness, that puts us into communication with various aspects of ourselves, larger communities, and elements of the Universe (Some, 1998). As we remember or recall, through ritual, truths and wisdom, on the intellectual, affective, behavioral, and spiritual levels, we may also remember our fragmented nature, as we become more connected in community with others. This is the power of ritual and its role in transformative learning.

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Border Crossings: Writing Across the Boundaries of Language and Culture at Work

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Abstract: This research describes a bilingual writing project involving a workplace English as a second language (ESL) program for Latino immigrants working in a Midwestern factory in conjunction with a Spanish language program for English speaking managers in the same company. Learners from both groups experienced the difficulties in crossing boundaries of culture, language and class at work as they learned to communicate in one another's language by exchanging letters. Their class writings and discussions documented learners' struggles to overcome the barriers of linguistic and social expectations, as well as discrimination in the workplace.

When I asked my Latino ESL students what I should teach their Anglo managers in the Spanish class the most popular response was "Tell them not to scream at us." This gave a good indication of the atmosphere of disrespect and poor communication found in this organization at the start of this project. In an attempt to foster improved relations, each ESL program participant was assigned a writing partner from the managers' Spanish class and each partner sent the other a weekly letter written in the writer's first language. By exchanging letters with their pen friends, the Mexican workers were able to voice their concerns in their own language and build relationships that crossed the boundaries of status, race, and culture. They were also in the role of being the authority and helping the others learn Spanish as mentors. The Mexican students wrote letters that were intimate and revealing, asking questions that some managers felt were too personal. The managers' questions were more generic and kept what they felt was an appropriate distance. While manager's often commented that the Mexican students' letters asked questions that were too personal, they also felt uncomfortable with questions about company policies. Likewise, the Latinos indicated that they felt some of the managers' prescriptive exhortations in their letters were inappropriate. As Brodkey (1992) found in a similar letter writing project, these class and cultural differences began a dialog that allowed workers to communicate in new ways.

Although communication is generally defined as a two-way process, the larger burden of communicating at work is usually placed on the immigrants whose attempts to use their new language skills are often met with impatience or rudeness by their English- speaking co-workers. Most American organizations are reluctant to offer foreign language training for their English-speaking employees, even when the vast majority of workers speak Spanish as a first language. There is a feeling that the immigrants alone should shoulder the burden of learning a new language and that concessions such as translating company documents into Spanish are unnecessary. Even immigrants often accept that improving workplace communication is solely their responsibility. I once asked learners in a workplace ESL class where 80% of the company's employees spoke Spanish if it wouldn't be better to teach Spanish to the minority of non-Latino workers than to try to teach English to everybody. They laughed, "This is United States, we learn English." Despite this widely held view of the inevitability of monolingual organizational learning, I believe that teaching Spanish to American managers is beneficial for many reasons: it

fosters empathy as they experience the true difficulty of learning a new language as an adult, it demonstrates to their Latino co-workers that their language and culture are valued, it helps them to gain the skills of rewording, repeating, slowing down and using movements in their conversations, and perhaps most importantly it allows them to interact on a personal level as fellow humans and co-learners with their employees rather than limiting their relations to giving orders.

Previous research (Gallo, 2001) has investigated the ways in which sharing photographs can be used to improve communication and relationships between diverse ethnic groups by initiating conversations and engaging people from different areas of a company in discussions with workers of different language backgrounds. In this same way, encouraging correspondence and sharing conversations about their letters can bring about greater understanding and improve work relationships between US and immigrant workers. Though class attendance fluctuated during the thirteen week project, this study involved a core group of ten English speaking American managers and ten Spanish speaking plant workers from the same company. Nine of the managers were white, one was Asian, and all of the plant workers were born in Mexico. I have taken the liberty of translating excerpts from the Spanish letters into English for brevity and clarity.

Communication problems in the workplace are not limited to the barriers between the Spanish and English languages. Many are also caused by the exclusionary communicative practices in their workplace (Goldstein, 1997) and a company culture which tolerates impatience, rudeness, and failure to accommodate beginning language learners' abilities. Rapid, idiomatic speech in a noisy manufacturing plant is difficult to understand, even for native speakers of English, and for second-language learners, the situation is especially problematic. Additionally, because many Americans have never learned a second language, they are unaware of the difficulty of doing so and may lack the empathy for new language learners that is more common in other cultures. The attitudes of white managers toward their immigrant employees who "don't even speak English" can be at times construed as condescending. In contrast to the suggestion implicit in the label "basic skills," the acquisition of fluency in a foreign language as an adult is a very high-order achievement that few people are able to accomplish. The expectations of the workplace, that limited- English-proficient workers with only a few years of grammar school in their native countries should be expected to read documentation such as chemical information sheets written at a college-graduate level, are thoughtless at best and negligent or even deliberately misleading at worse. The exclusionary language style that keeps workers from obtaining information essential to their health and safety is problematic. It is important that the communicative practices of the workplace including signage, documentation, oral communication, and other language uses become adapted to the needs and practices of new language learners.

As Mawer (1999) has suggested, it is important to contextualize and understand the role of communicative practices throughout the workplace rather than designating second language learners as deficient and lacking in communication skills. Roberts, Davies, and Jupp (1992) have suggested that workplace ESL training in isolation does not substantially change the opportunities available to immigrants because of discriminatory practices. In many workplaces employees are physically segregated by ethnicity in different parts of the company. In this organization, the majority of office workers and supervisors were white English speakers, while the plant and warehouse areas were predominantly Latino. Creating opportunities for these groups to communicate in non-traditional ways as co-learners of one another' languages was a

small step toward eliminating some of these barriers within their work world. Boyle (2001) argues that most workplace literacy programs devote too little instructional time to make a significant difference in language proficiency. By encouraging learners to seek support and develop autonomous language learning skills outside of the classroom it may be possible to improve the amount and quality of their language learning as well.

Though many white-collar workers seem genuinely sympathetic and concerned about the difficulties faced by the immigrants, they do not act outside of their work roles in order to implement changes. The policies of the company go largely unquestioned, even in light of gross inequities and the acceptance of business as usual allows unfair practices to continue. By getting to know their workers through corresponding and asking for help in translating their letters, those who engaged in conversations with the immigrants began to view them as fellow workers with their own personalities and feelings. Office workers began to comment on the immigrants' progress in English and to offer words of encouragement more frequently. Some English learners found allies in these Americans who took the time to listen through the heavy accents and imperfect grammar to discover the concerns of their fellow workers and offered encouragement to one another as they explored new communication practices. The Latinos from the factory also became more confident and capable about expressing their concerns to management. Writing in their first language gave these workers an opportunity to express themselves in ways that they could not do adequately in English. It also gave them a chance to improve their first language literacy. Anzaldúa (1999) writes that the world of Mexican immigrants living in the United States is a culturally rich yet often conflicting and confusing blend of customs, languages, and ways of knowing. Fostering meaningful communication with dominant language speakers while encouraging first language usage can begin to enhance understandings on both sides.

Though I always hope that the phrases managers request to learn in Spanish might be along the lines of inquiries and encouragement: "you are a great worker, thank you for helping," they more frequently request translations for their orders and reprimands. While the managers often complained about the misspelling they detected in their writing partners' letters, the Latinos did not. Managers were encouraged to try to read their letters by personally asking Latino co-workers for help rather than relying solely on a dictionary in order to build relationships and engage in genuine communicative activities. But many were resistant to this approach, preferring to work alone with a dictionary. Because of this choice they were upset by the occasional phonetic misspellings which would be easily understood by a native speaker ("acer" for *hacer*, "boy" for *voy*). "How are we supposed to read these when they can't even spell the words right?" one supervisor asked with frustration. Others adapted readily to the suggested method of reading the letters. As one manager wrote to her partner, "Thank you for my letter. I had my friend help me to translate the letter that you wrote to me. I read the words that I understand, and then she helps me with the rest of the sentence."

When writing to the managers, most of whom had college degrees, the Latinos were often apologetic about their lack of education. One woman wrote "Forgive my spelling mistakes but I only went to sixth grade in the school." Another man explained:

> I have liked to work since I was very small. I was working because my parents did not have sufficient money to school us because my family is a little large. We are five boys and three girls. I am the fifth of all of us and I did not study in order to help my father and my mother so that my siblings could study. My sister is a

secretary and my brother is studying to be an architect. I am happy because they are going to have a career.

There was a bit of discomfort for the Latinos in communicating with superiors with who they had sometimes rocky relationships. They were very concerned about the discrimination and disrespect they often felt at work and asked pointedly about these attitudes: "What opinion do you have of us, the Latinos?" one person asked in a letter. Another wrote "Do you get angry very frequently with your workers? Why do you bother yourself with them? Do you like to work with Hispanic people?" The managers also seemed aware of the tensions and apprehensions that existed within the company; one wrote to her pen friend: "The reason I am learning Spanish is because in my position I do deal a lot with Spanish employees and I would like them not to be afraid to talk to me."

One full time worker, just seventeen years old was offended by his supervisor's letter suggesting that he should be in high school to get more education. He wrote that working to support his family financially was both necessary and more important than continuing his schooling. There was sometimes thinly veiled anger and hostility expressed in these letters, particularly by workers who questioned why they could not get health benefits or better wages from the company. Many of the managers seemed to be uncomfortable with this and would ignore the hostility either by refusing to write back or responding in a dismissive fashion. Several managers dropped out of the program citing lack of time to attend class one hour per week, but discomfort with confronting their own discriminatory practices may have contributed to their withdrawal as well.

Gradually, some participants began to build a tenuous trust. As one Mexican man wrote to his correspondent, "I trust you and I know that you are not going to laugh at me. I hope it doesn't bother you that I wrote a lot." Others seemed cautiously polite in currying the favor of their bosses, "Thank you for permitting us to come to English classes because we need it. I hope that it continues so that we can get better in the language."

Conclusion

As a result of increased communication between English and Spanish speakers during this learning project, there were some improvements and concessions in the efforts made by the native English-speaking employees to slow down and simplify their speech as well as to become better listeners. The Latino students also began to cross the boundary of being creators of written documents such as personal letters, life histories, and memos to management about problems rather that merely being the recipients of written information. By experiencing first hand the difficulties of learning a foreign language, managers were able to have a better understanding of the hardships faced by the Latino laborers studying English. Additionally, putting a name and face on the workers and building personal relationships can perhaps humanize work relationships and encourage managers to rethink their own communicative styles. By raising awareness of power inequalities in the workplace, they started to achieve what Freire (1973/1993) called the humanization of the oppressors by the oppressed. Crossing the line of trying to communicate with fellow workers from different culture, language, and class backgrounds as equals is a difficult and ongoing process that may be fostered by communicative programs such as this.

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COMMUNITY ORGANIZING: PEDAGOGY OF CO-LEARNING

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Abstract: This study documents and analyzes the Empowerment Zone application process in the early nineties and the role of African Americans on the south side of Chicago who participated in this process. This study addresses the relationship of formal and nonformal education, knowledge production and community organizing.

Chicago has been a center for African American community organizers and adult educators to embark in co-learning experiences that helped the community members "read their world." Saul Alinsky, a celebrated organizer, and many others have noted Chicago for its community action. However, many of Chicago residents continue to be disenfranchised and without a voice in the major decisions that effect their everyday life.

Chicago historically has implemented programs that have centered on self-empowerment for the poor. However, these programs' goals of benefitting the poor were not designed by those in poverty and they did little to relieve poverty. The gap between the have and nots was increasing while poverty was increasing throughout the city (Gills, 1996). The Empowerment Zone initiative sought to embrace a collective approach of community organizing and knowledge production centered on a bottoms-up leadership style and what Habermas would refer to as communicative rationality.

The Empowerment Zone Enterprise Community initiative follows a long line of federal programs that were created to alleviate poverty and distress in urban America. These programs began with urban Renewal in 1949 and continue through the Regan initiative of Enterprise Zones, subsequently, adopted by both the Bush and Clinton Administrations. The central theme of these programs has been economic revitalization of America's inner city neighborhoods (South side Empowerment Zone Cluster, 1996). Because the federal government has never really understood the problems that people in the inner city face, success has been limited. A lack of bipartisan agreement, conservatives' leadership hostility and an unofficial policy orientation of benign neglect toward urban problems have further hindered the process of building viable communities. It has certainly impeded building strong communities on the basis of transforming the lives and living conditions of the impoverished and the distressed that now reside in them.

The Empowerment Zone (EZ) concept, in the Chicago Plan, is about empowering citizens in a community. It has emphasis on the bottoms-up/community-directed democracy and mutual responsibility/accountability approach. On the federal level, it was sponsored by the house Representative Charles Rangel and Senator Bill Bradley and executed into law by the Clinton Administration in 1993.

The Chicago plan for the Empowerment Zone was drafted on June 28, 1994. The Empowerment zone application process required the development of a strategic plan produced

through a "bottom-up" planning process. This planning process was responsible for the creation of seven programmatic areas:

(1) Human and organizational Capacity Building
(2) Public Safety
(3) Linking Health and Human Services
(4) Economic Development
(5) Development of Affordable and Accessible Housing
(6) Cultural Diversity
(7) Youth Futures

Taken in the spirit of the EZ/EC program, bottoms-up planning demanded a process wherein the community is a partner not only in problem identification and plan adoption, but also in development of the plan itself. Chicago was successful in winning $100 million as well as waivers, tax credits and bonds.

It is the chronological history of events that took place during the announcement of the fund availability and the actual submitting of the winning proposal that provides a theoretical framework that supports the concept of knowledge production, giving the rise to a pedagogy of co-learning from a bottoms-up standpoint.

The process to draft the Chicago Plan was highlighted in a series of strategic planning sessions held in the spring at Malcolm X College on Chicago's west side and various local community locations. At the first of these meetings, a group of "grass roots" community activists took control of the meeting and without any city planners present initiated the crafting of the agenda underpinning a strategic plan (Curry, 1998).

The strategic plan developed by the grass root community had as its goal a continuum of components that would change the governing fabric of local communities, while involving all of the city's entities in the process. This plan sought partnerships with community residents, churches, political factions and youth. The challenge was to learn from each other. Each group was active in the creative process that occurred while drafting the proposal. The "have and the have nots" were to sit at the table and enter into a exercise of knowledge production focused on the theme of reinventing government and alleviating poverty.

In order to have a successful application the grassroots organizations throughout the city embarked on an organizing campaign that used the methodology of co-learning. Co-learning is a strategy to encourage intellectual activity. Co-learning for the grassy grass roots includes the nonformal framework of friends teaching friends. Co-learning is a form of learning with and in grassroots communities that challenges power relations between dominant and oppressed groups as well as the notions of expert and novice, teachers and learner (Curry and Cunningham, 2000). The learning process used in the application process extends this concept of friends of teaching friends by including the concept of knowledge production. One of the members of the governing committee said " I went to Harold Washington library to look up words up words I didn't understand. "First I went to the fifth floor and paid my respect to the late Harold Washington and then I began my work." This participant was a member of the governance committee and a co-author of the south side strategic plan that was part of Chicago's winning proposal. She entered the process through her involvement with one of south side community-based organizations that is referred to in the broader study as one of the outside groups.

It has been my experience based on thirty years of community organizing that there are two types of community–based organizations. One is referred to as the insider because it lines up politically with the system and usually is hegemonic in their practices. For example, the Chicago's community organizations formed coalitions in the 1970s in response to actions by Chicago's pro-growth elites who redirected the city federal funds for downtown development leaving precious little funding for neighborhoods. Those groups were referred to as insiders. In response the Chicago Rehab Network, the Chicago Association of Neighborhood Development Organization and the Community Workshop on Economic Development were formed in the late 1970s to ensure an equitable distribution of resources and have retained their activism and involvement advocating for those who are disenfranchised. These groups are referred to as outsiders and are considered counter-hegemonic and embraced by the grassy grassroots in their politics. It is this outside group that was determined to have a democratic process in the knowledge creation and implementation of the strategic plan.

This outside group embraced the concepts argued by Freire and Horton (1990) that liberation is achieved through popular participation. Participation in turn is realized through an educational practice that itself is both liberatory and particpatory, that simultaneously creates a new society and involves the people themselves in the creation of their own knowledge.

This group understood the need to rise to the challenge of creating a strategic plan based on the concept of alleviating poverty and reinventing government. A proverb that is classic among the poor is "Need is the motherhood of invention." For them this challenged lined up with Gramci (1970), concept that each social class or group has constructed knowledge in the interest of its own class. They had a social common struggle that could foster liberation from poverty and provide a sustainable lifestyle for the at least 1,000,000 residents.

Eyerman and Jaminson (1991) liken social struggle to "a process of social learning in which movement organization act as structuring forces, opening a space in which creative interaction between individuals can take place" (p. 55). They see knowledge as the product of a series of social encounters with movements between movements, and, even more important between movements and their established opponents. This new knowledge created by struggle can now be compared with existing knowledge or knowledges. These actors organized in their local communties around the issues. Building and democratizing civil society is connected dialectically to transformational learning in adults (Collins, 1991; Hart, 1992, Newman, 1994; Zacharakis Jutz, 1990). The task of the Empowerment zone application process was an attempt to socially construct a concept for working from the bottoms-up using participatory language of collective coordination, and collaboration across civil society to create sustainable communities.

The mandates of the proposal encouraged a dialectical process between the state and civil society. The winning application had as its partners, the entities in civil society that influenced the infrastructures of designated zones. The guidelines set forth in the document clearly stated that all the players at the table had to have equal voice as well as equal power in the process of reinventing government and alleviating poverty. One of the key components of the designation process was the creation of a governance process with community residents managing the process as equal partners with the city, county, state and federal government and private business and institutional interest. In a world where power relationships are never equal. This Empowerment zone application process was an opportunity to recognize the knowledge production that occurs at the bottom during social movements and everyday life.

The Empowerment Zone strategic plan was the guidebook for an unprecedented movement to revitalize economically, culturally and socially devastated communities in Chicago. Its components and implementation were designed to impact most Chicagoans. The Chicago plan was unique–part plan, part wish list, part vision for change. Its unique design grew out of a process structured from philosophies purposely left vague and general. This was not your usual "RFP" by definition the Empowerment Zone process was not designed by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to be the typical request for proposal exercise, where groups and individuals applied for funds by writing proposals according to structured federal guidelines.

Instead the Guidebook emphasized "that there was no how to" for strategic planning for Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities. There was no one single best approach that captures the diversity of local communities. However, there were several important principles that guided the process. The strategic planning was built around the concept of the necessity of economic development-new businesses and jobs-as the engine of urban revitalization, planning for empowerment zones' and enterprise communities' governance from the bottom-ups, and planning with a collective vision.

The network of "grassy grassroots" community-based organizations organized and educated their constituency based on the information of the CWED annual meeting. Each community had their own leaders and their own needs. The one commonality that existed throughout the groups of community organizations was the devastation of poverty throughout their neighborhoods and communities and the need to change how Chicago did its business. The groups that attended the meeting were looking for strategic methods to provide economic parity from the city government for the groups they represented. Chicago had not launched a grassroots citywide movement since the election campaign of Harold Washington. This announcement at the annual meeting promised that the grassroots organizing campaign could be possible based on its center of reinventing government and alleviating poverty. This venture was marketed at the meeting to focus not only on the voices of the those in poverty but to have those voices create policy and collaboratively write a winning proposal that would reinvent government and alleviate poverty. The government had designed a request for proposals that would respect the knowledge of those in poverty as the "expert." Mr. Priest (HUD representative) stated that, "The people in the communities that you serve know what they need to get out of poverty." He was elaborating on the different methods that were possible. It promised to include those who were on the margin based on their economics.

The language in itself was different from what most of the group had experienced. Those who had worked on social justice issues for a decade or more remembered similar language usage spoken as the war on poverty, model cities, empowerment zones, enterprise zones and pulling one self up by your own bootstraps. What was different about the language usage even though it was coming from the same set of players (the federal government) was the concept of the alleviation of poverty and the reinventing of government. The announcement offered promises of choosing your own governing body. It made distinctions between the state agencies, the county agencies and the city of Chicago as sponsoring agencies. The language mandated a bottoms-ups approach. When the question was posed by skeptical members of community-based organizers, how do we know that this is not soup warmed over?, it was then stated that without the bottoms-up approach, the proposals would not be considered. It was stated and restated that the program initiatives had to come from those in poverty. The HUD representative explained that the request for proposals that would be announced nationally at a later date spelled out in details how it would not be considered without the leadership coming from the bottom. It was

furthered explained that the task before the winning five cities were monumental. This initiative was asking for a new form of organizing. The winning proposal would have support letters from all groups that made up civil society, including churches, banks, businesses, philanthropic communities as well as the hospitals, parks and recreational communities. These letters could not be your regular letters supporting the efforts of those in poverty. These letters had to state the institutions' commitment to a partnership in the seven initiatives that would lead to alleviating poverty and reinventing government.

The community organizers began to use the bottoms-up concept as a rallying tool and well as the 100 million dollars. In different communities flyers were disbursed stating: What would you do with a hundred million dollars? Other flyers were titled: Do you want to alleviate poverty and reinvent government? Each community used their own strategy to try and bring their constituency on board. Many of the flyers used on the south side of Chicago was as simple as, are you tired of having other people decide your future?

Why Organize

Getting the people to mobilize and own the process was an important part of the order to understand why a group of community residents would expend countless hours of energy organizing, mobilizing and creating a winning application. It's important to note the landscape and the interplay of power that the three community groups (Woodlawn, Greater Grand Crossing and Kenwood Oakland) were involved. This chapter will chronicle and analyze the process of Gentrification/Redevelopment that Woodlawn community residents experienced. Although, the three communities based on their geographical location experienced similar activities, I will focus on the Woodlawn community. I've divided this discussion into a chronological analysis and a description of the process of gentrification.

Many scholars have written about Gentrification and it process of disinvestment before a community can realize revitalization. Both Wilson (1987) and Massey (1993) discuss in their books, the effects of gentrification on the African American Communities.

Woodlawn was one of the communities that William Julius Wilson (1987) discussed in "The Truly Disadvantaged." One of the many topics he addressed was the deleterious concentration effect of impoverished people living in extremely impoverished communities. One of the effects of impoverished densely populated areas according to Wilson (1987), is a dangerously high level of social isolation. One could argue that when long-term residents of the Woodlawn community experienced the flight of businesses in what was once a very thriving economic corridor, it changed both their behavior and the way they defined work. Numerous businesses along 63rd street from Stony Island to King Drive, approximately a twenty-block radius housed many small shops, franchises, entertainment centers and banks. The flight of these businesses adversely impacted the residents. Many of the salesclerks became self-employed as street vendors. The community also experienced different entrepreneurial ventures, much of which generated "non taxable" income. This lends credence to Wilson's (1987) and Massey's (1993) notion of social isolation based upon the disappearance of work.

Wilson provides an in-depth discussion of the people in poverty during the disinvestment stage of a community. What he does not take into account is the level of knowledge production that is occurring simultaneously while the residents of these communities are creating mechanisms for survival. This kind of knowledge is usually shared orally among those in the same economic location. When there are no jobs in a community one has to seek employment outside of the community. This concept of seeking employment in outside areas was one of the

contributions of the ordinary people involved in the application process. The "green line" (CTA, public transportation link) was the tool used to connect the contiguous area in the Empowerment Zone application process.

Massey and Denton (1993) discusses the deleterious effects of social isolation in American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass, but their focus is on how residential segregation leads to spatial isolation. In that book they identify a type of segregation which they label hypersegreation. Hypersegreation occurs when a group is segregated in five geographic dimensions.

In referring to African Americans, Denton and Massey (1993) write that:

> blacks may be distributed so that they are over represented in some areas and under represented in others, leading to different degrees of unevenness; they may also be distributed so that their racial isolation is ensured by virtue of rarely sharing a neighborhood with whites. In addition, however, black neighborhoods may be tightly clustered to form one large contiguous enclave or scattered about in checkerboard fashion; they may be concentrated within a very small area or settled sparely throughout the urban environment. Finally, they may be spatially centralized around the urban core or spread out around along the periphery (p. 18).

A metropolitan area that scored 60 or above in four of the five categories was labeled hypersegregated. The Chicago metropolitan area was one of only 16 metropolitan areas in the country to meet these criteria. In fact, they found that Chicago was the most segregated City in the country because 91% of Chicago's African-American residents would have to move to achieve a residential segregation pattern, which was in line with the percentage of Blacks in the City's population. The Woodlawn Community during the time of this research was considered one of the poorest communities in Chicago. However, the Woodlawn community went through a process of revitalization during the Columbus Exposition and later experienced a period of disinvestment during the late 50s that continued until the early 90s when two major institutions anchored.

Dutch farmers founded Woodlawn in the early nineteenth century. The community did not experience significant growth until it was annexed by the City of Chicago in 1889. The 1893 Columbia Exposition, which was held in Jackson Park, further accelerated Woodlawn's commercial and residential growth. During this period 63rd street and Cottage Grove became an active commercial area, and the currently inactive Jackson Park El line was completed. Hotels, apartment buildings and stores were built in anticipation of the event, and by 1893 Woodlawn was home to 20,000 residents.

After the exposition Woodlawn experienced a period of economics and residential stagnation until the mid-1930s when its population grew by 22%. This population growth was accomplished not through new construction, but through the subdivision of existing buildings. In addition to beginning the "era of substandard housing." This period also marked the beginning of the decline of 63rd street as a commercial hub.

As the community changed economically, it also experienced racial and ethnic change. African Americans did not live in Woodlawn until 1910, and ten years later they were only 2% of Woodlawn's population. After 1910, Irish and Germans joined the original Dutch residents. Additionally, over half of the University of Chicago's faculties lived in Woodlawn during the 1930s, however, their tenure at Woodlawn was relatively short.

A city wide housing shortage developed after World War I, when returning veterans and rural southern black migrants came to Chicago in large numbers. From this time onward Woodlawn's Black population grew, while the white population shrunk. During the 1940s Blacks were concentrated to the west of Cottage Grove, but during the 1950s Woodlawn experienced a tremendous racial transformation and African Americans moved to the area east of Cottage Grove in droves. In 1950 Black were 39% of Woodlawn's population. In 1960 they 89% pf Woodlawn's population. During this time the white population decreased by 40,000.

From this time period to the present reporting, the community's total population has decreased as more Blacks moved into the community, and even more whites moved out. In 1950 Woodlawn's total population was 80, 699 and it was 60% percent white and 38% Black. In 1970 the total population was 53, 814 and was 3.6% white and 95.8% Black. In 1990 the total population was 27,473, and was 3.2% white and 96% Black.

The dominant concept that was underlying the redevelopment, seem to be that the needs of the "Haves" outweigh the needs and concern of the 'have nots." Implicit in this concept was the belief than an urban community populated by predominantly poor people of color is not as vital, important, or valued a community as one populated by middle and upper income people. Massey and Denton (1993), suggest African American poverty is the outcome of African American residential segregation and therefore responsible for the emergence of the "urban underclass." Haymes (1995) points out that this marginalization that created the "underclass" has resulted in isolation from the white mainstream cultures and values. He further articulates that this process has contributed to the lack of African American socioeconomic advancement and income growth. The groups in the south side cluster namely Woodlawn were in solidarity with the concept that their communities needed revitalizing. The conflict centered however, around the issue of whose vision would shape the revitalization.

During the 1990s several events occurred in Woodlawn that signaled the impending redevelopment of the community. In line with the belief that gentrification involves the movement of capital back to the inner city, this section will identify several events which signal the return of capital back to the community. In October 1992 the Fund for Redevelopment and Revitalization of Woodlawn and Kenwood-Oakland, a non-profit organization whose purpose was to act as the first approval source of any City or State funds that would be requested to don new existing development in the community. The Fund's mission was to attract more affluent persons to live and set up businesses in both Woodlawn and Kenwood-Oakland. In June of 1993 the Fund received a $ 1.5 million grant over a three-year period from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. In October 1993, the Fund received $750,000 from LISC (Local Initiatives Support Corporation) to purchase vacant land for development.

The chairman of the fund was the bishop of the Apostolic Church of God, Dr. Arthur Brazier. Although this church is located in Woodlawn, its 5,000-9,000-member congregation is predominantly middle and upper income African Americans, and only a small percent resided in the community

The members of the Fund were selected by Brazier with little community input. This is reflected in the initial composition of the fund which include: Dr. Leon D. Finney, Jr. (the president of the Woodlawn Organization aka TWO, who is also the executive director of the Woodlawn Community Development Corporation); Jonathan Kleinbard (the University of Chicago's Vice President of University News and community affairs Woodlawn Preservation and Investment Corporation board member, and member of City's Community Development Commission), and Allison Davis, (City of Chicago corporation counsel, attorney for TWO,

WPIC, and the Fund). Also included on the Fund was Andrew Ditton (Local Initiatives Support Corporation, national branch executive director). And James W. Compton (President and CEO of the Chicago Urban League). The composition of the fund board depicts a multitude of both power and wealth.

Of the Funds initial members, not including Brazier, six were members of his church, and eight were in some way affiliated with the Apostolic Church of God. Only one representative from a Woodlawn-based CBO (Covenant Development Corporation) was permitted on the board, while Woodlawn East Community and Neighbors (WECAN) who played a critical organizing role in the empowerment zone application process, was excluded from the board over the protest of several board members.

In 1993 Cole Taylor and First Chicago Bank announced plans to open branches in Woodlawn. In 1992 the construction of the $12 million addition to the Apostolic Church of God was completed at the corner of 63rd street and Dorchester. In 1994, Cole Taylor opened a branch on 63rd street, and First Chicago opened a branch at the corner of 67th street and Stony Island. These were the first banks Woodlawn residents had seen in their community for over twenty years. The return of Cole Taylor was a direct result of the efforts of WECAN that used Woodlawn as a carrot with which to lure a bank whose Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) rating could only be described as low to very low. First Chicago opened a branch in Woodlawn because it needed a "hub" location, and the corner of 67th street and Stony Island provided nearly 2 acres of long on a busy artery.

In late 1994 announcements were posted on a building located at 61st street and Dorchester stating that the building was being converted to condos. According to the announcement, 2 bedrooms cost began at $56,000 and 3 bedrooms at $74,000. Those buildings were rehabbed and the condos sold well. During 1991 the construction of the new South Side YMCA was completed along Stony Island Avenue between 63rd and 64th streets.

In 1990 the Woodlawn Preservation and Investment Corporation (WPIC) and the Thrush Companies announced plans for the Plaisance Place, a development of single family homes, and Renaissance Apartments. This joint venture was facilitated by a loan guarantee from the University of Chicago to WPIC. Interestingly, Victor Knight, the executive director of WPIC , was also the executive director of the FUND. WPIC was founded by Brazier and Knight in 1987.

The forty-year Plaisance Place Project involved the construction of 300 homes in the Woodlawn and Kenwood community. The starting price for these homes were $140,000. This was out of reach for many of the present residents. They were working with WECAN to try to come up with options that would allow them to remain in their present housing or housing in the area. The Plaisance Homes were marketed to professionals and University of Chicago faculty and staff. The Plaisance Place was the beginning of a broader plan to redevelop Woodlawn and Kenwood-Oakland. The redevelopment included the rehabilitation of multi-family units, the construction of new housing and the provision of housing for low-income individuals.

In 1994 community residents involved themselves in the Chicago Empowerment Zone application process. Their involvement led to the inclusion of most of north Woodlawn as part of one of the designated areas in the Empowerment Zone application. The program involves a combination of federal grants and tax incentives, along with special bond authority to facilitate the revitalization of extremely disadvantaged areas. The area included in the Empowerment Zone is bounded by 60th Street on the north, 63rd Street on the south, Martin Luther King Drive on the west, and Dorchester and Blackstone on the east. It was not a coincidence that the area

included in the Empowerment Zone designation was also the Woodlawn Redevelopment Project area.

Benefits of Revitalization

The community residents that were involved in the Empowerment Zone application process saw their involvement as an attempt to have a voice in the redevelopment process. They wanted a flourishing community. The RFP was the engine that would allow the residents to sit at the planning table with the elite city planners and include their vision of how a community could be rebuilt from the inside/out using the organic knowledge that existed among the current residents, while encouraging ideas from the new comers. The current residents understood through lived situations that Gentrification/revitalization brought with it both cost and benefits.

Cost of Revitalization

Displacement

Involuntary housing displacement is often associated with gentrification and is considered one of the largest cost paid by the family that is displaced. Haymes (1995) discusses how these involuntarily displacements causes a loss in" the sense of place." In a general sense gentrification-induced displacement involves the forced movement of a person from their homes through circumstances beyond their control. The more formal definition used for induced displacement is "Displacement occurs when any household is forced to move from its residence by conditions which affect the dwelling or its immediate surroundings and which:

(1) are beyond the household's reasonable ability to control or prevent;
(2) occur despite the household's having met all previously imposed conditions of occupancy; and
(3) make continued occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous or unaffordable.

To a large degree, Chicago was the birthplace of community organizing, and the urban landscape is littered with the skeletons of previous efforts. Many of the best intentioned members of the community have bitter memories of such failures and were reluctant to muster up renewed faith in the process (Obama, 1988). However, what happened was that the actors entered into a knowledge production process as co-learners and realized that" organizing teaches as nothing else does the beauty and strength of everyday people. Through the songs of the church and the talk on the stoops, through the hundreds of individual stories of coming up from the south and finding any job that would pay, of raising families on threadbare budgets, of losing some children to drugs and watching others earn degrees and land jobs their parents could never aspire to, it is through these stories and songs of dashed hopes and powers of endurance of ugliness and strife subtlety and laughter, that organizers can shape a sense of community not only for others, but for themselves.

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Color is Only Skin Deep but Knowledge Production Goes to the Bone: A Counter-story of Continuing Professional Education (CPE)

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Abstract: There is a paucity of research that investigates CPE from a structural problem-posing rather than an instrumental problem-solving stance. With few exceptions, little has been done to examine association-based CPE for its contribution to social justice as an inseparable component of improvement of practice. This exploratory study examined annual meeting conference programs across two professions, medicine and law. While the findings raise questions far beyond the politics of program planning, the purpose of this inquiry is to stimulate dialog among CPE scholar/practitioners focused on the hegemonic and culturally reproductive practices of professional association conference programs.

Introduction

Recently, Cervero (2000) posed the following question as the number one critical issue facing the field of CPE. He asked, "Continuing education for what? The struggle between updating professional's knowledge versus improving professional practice" (p. 8). Somehow, the professional obligation to update knowledge, improve practice, and commit to a more just society through practice have become competing rather than synergistic goals and this competition is institutionalized by the market-driven forces that retain sessions/topics based on attendance. While CPE practitioners are not unaware of their complicity in maintaining the status quo, there is surprisingly little resistance to it.

Toward the end of creating a counter-story of CPE, the question this study explores is: *In what ways, and to what extent do professional associations and their continuing professional education (CPE) curricula support cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialization to an objectivist and hegemonic view of the professions?* Counter-stories, as Haraway pointed out ". . . are not any more 'real' than those widely circulated on an everyday basis, (but) they do engender situated knowledges that offer different values, perspectives, and understanding of everyday reality" (1996, p. 255).

To the extent that professional associations and their annual conferences create spaces for dialogue among participants, the politics of program planning play a substantial role in enabling or preventing inter-racial and cross-cultural communication. Brookfield (1995) has devoted considerable attention to the need for adult educators (and I include CPE practitioners among them) to examine the hegemonic aspects of their practice. He calls for an examination of the ways in which practice perpetuates inequities and the ways in which it is discriminatory and anti-democratic. Conference programs provide an important publicly available framework for undertaking such a project.

Theoretical Framework

Traditionally, the ideal profession is depicted as a category or a distinction in which individuals recognize others as they recognize themselves promoting an ideal of community that is unable to accommodate plurality, difference, and different realities (Young, 1990). This

approach is a conceptual straitjacket for researchers, rendering many questions "unaskable" because they cannot be accommodated within traditional methodologies. By denying plurality, differences, and different realities, membership in a profession (and development of professional expertise) appears to require the erasure of identities arising from race, class, and gender. Hence, a major premise underlying the exploratory research question stated above is that a theoretical framework for researching the ways in which CPE and its diverse providers (with the workplace and professional associations as the most prevalent suppliers, Cervero, 2000) is lacking. Although critiques that have contributed much to the topics of professionalism, CPE, and program planning exist, such as Illich et al., 1977; Cervero, 1989; Cervero & Wilson 1994, 1996, 1998; Collins, 1991; and McKnight, 1995, they tend to fall into two categories. First, Illich et al. (1977), Collins (1991), and McKnight (1995) provided very useful critical treatises on the meaning of professionalism as an ideology and its effects on modern society. Second, Cervero and Wilson (1994, 1996, & 1998) focused on the negotiation of power and various interests in responsible program planning. Eraut's work (1994) bridged the gap a bit more in terms of empirical research on how professionals construct knowledge to improve practice (often through CPE) but it did not satisfy the need to look across professions as most of his research examined the staff development of K-12 teachers. It also did not examine the broader societal implications of CPE practices in terms of cultural reproduction. The primary goal then of the exploratory research question is to stimulate new research on the ways that business-as-usual CPE practices improve practice, not only by steadily advancing technical expertise, but also by examining the ways in which that expertise contributes to social justice. If this goal is achieved, it may provide the foundation for a more comprehensive theoretical framework.

Data Collection and Analysis

A web-based document content analysis and phone follow-up was undertaken to compare CPE curricula of associations whose membership comprises a variety of diverse interests within the professions of medicine and law. These two professions provide a purposive sample in several ways. First, they share a similar historical developmental path including the timeframes within which they founded professional associations, adopted licensure requirements, standardized curricula, and limited entry to the profession members of marginalized groups, and subsequently modified those practices (Illich et al., 1977; McKnight, 1995; Foucault, 1984). Further, their professional associations are "resource rich" in comparison to many others and therefore maintain regularly updated, highly sophisticated websites where members and the public-at-large may view benefits and conference programs. These two professions' associations are identically structured in terms of the mainstream associations (beginning with the name "American") and their "National" affiliates comprised of numerous groups organized around ethnic, racial and/or gender identities. Finally, as Eraut (1994) pointed out, these two professions enjoy a shared perception in the public eye as the true professions, to which all others aspire. These shared characteristics facilitated an exploratory comparison.

Results: CPE Curricula Comparative Analysis-the Counter-story

Annual conference programs provide a fascinating snapshot of the role of CPE in relation to professional association member interests. Revenue from conference registrations provides over half of the annual income for many associations making the match between member interests and needs and CPE offerings a financial imperative. A comparison of the annual

conference programs over the last two years (2000-2001) for the following professional associations (see Table 1) was completed through a web-based search.

Table 1: Glossary of Associations[1]

	Medical Associations (Physicians)	**Bar Associations (Attorneys)**
American (mainstream)	✓ (AMA)	✓ (ABA)
National		
• African American	✓ (NMA)	✓ (NBA)
• Hispanic	✓ (NHMA)	✓ (NHBA)
• Asian Pacific		✓ (NAPBA)
• First Nations	✓ (NFNMA)	✓ (NFMBA)
Minority Women's (loosely affiliated)	✓ (NMWMA)	✓ (NMWBA)

Information gleaned from all the CPE program coordinators within the affiliated National Bar Associations, and two from the affiliated National Medical Associations indicated a growing desire to standardize program formats into *Tracks* identified with a common nomenclature. This member-requested initiative is designed to help members (many of whom belong to several National affiliates) quickly analyze sessions of interest. Although the annual conference CPE curricula of the AMA and ABA are also organized by tracks, (see Tables 2 and 3), the track titles indicate different emphases from those of the National Association affiliates of both professions.

The organizing principle used to create Tables 2 and 3 was ease of access. In other words, sessions were attributed to various associations' conference programs when they appeared to relate closely to a particular track both in terms of the session description and organization of the program. Conference programs that featured a *Cultural Competence Track* included a description of the track as a whole and some statement indicating the previous year's interest in these topics. It is important to note that the CPE curricula of both the AMA and ABA included sessions on diversity but they tended to focus on the needs of diverse clients, not those of the professional membership. Also, these sessions were subsumed under broader concerns around clinical issues, such as the study of diabetes within a certain population or how the death penalty impacted various minority groups.

Table 2: Legal Profession Annual Meeting CPE Curricula 2000 and 2001

[1] Websites – Complete path URLs for the associations and destinations reported in this research are in a state of transition, the objective is to provide more straightforward links to mainstream and minority focused associations, an important goal but yet to be fully realized. Rather than note URL's that will be different by next week, we recommend the search engine approach. Enter the names of the desired associations to reach their home pages. Navigation is quite straightforward from there.

Tracks	ABA	NBA	NHBA	NAPBA	NWMBA	NFNBA
Professional Development	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Solo & Small Firm	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Corporate	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Technology	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Government & Legislation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Association Leadership	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Cultural Competence		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Social Justice/Advocacy		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Family Law		✓	✓	✓	✓	

Table 3: Physicians Annual Meeting CPE Curricula 2000 and 2001

Tracks	AMA	NMA	NHMA	NMWMA	NFNMA
Clinical Updates					
• Chronic Disease/Auto Immune		✓	✓	✓	✓
• Mental Health		✓	✓	✓	✓
• Breaking News	✓*	✓	✓	✓	✓
Policy Issues					
• Federal Legislative Initiatives	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
• Organized Medicine & Future Health		✓	✓	✓	✓
Cultural Competence					
• Principals and Practices		✓	✓	✓	✓
• Systems Change		✓	✓	✓	✓
• Gender Perspectives		✓	✓	✓	✓
• Culture & Language & Health		✓	✓	✓	✓
Research Models					
• Alternative Epistemologies			✓	✓	
Career Development					
• Mentoring	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
• CPE and You	✓				
• Student Sessions	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Association Leadership	✓	✓		✓	

* All new developments across medical/surgical areas are handled as "Breaking News."

Phone interviews revealed that program planners responded to the tragic events of September 11, 2001. Visits to the homepages of the ABA and AMA revealed position statements and anticipated additions to the 2002 conference programs related to "Disaster Response." A slightly different response emanated from several of the National Association affiliates (medical and legal). While position statements and messages of sympathy were all but universal, phone

follow-up with program coordinators of the National Bar Association affiliates confirmed that their future programmatic thrusts would be on the effects of racial profiling – a repeat topic for several years now, but even more critical since September 11.

With regard to the *Professional Development Tracks*, the ABA and AMA session descriptions indicated a "one-size-fits-all" approach regardless of the topics (mentoring, financial planning, career planning, etc.). Alternatively, *Track* descriptions for the National Medical and National Bar Association affiliates featured the particular minority group interest and positioned the session topic within that context. Disturbingly, the ABA annual meeting program ran ***concurrently*** with the ABA Commission on Racial and Ethnic Diversity (not shown on Table 2) and this special interest group's program included many sessions very similar to the ones found on the conference agendas of the National Bar Association affiliates. *However, attendance at these sessions precluded attendance at the general membership sessions, many of which were devoted to technical updates presenting an unfortunate dilemma for conference attendees.* When asked about this conundrum, the ABA program coordinator acknowledged the decision point but noted that the previous solution (a pre-conference) did not generate enough attendance to be continued and the concurrent programs seemed to be the "perfect" solution. Further, the coordinator noted that, "there really is no problem because members who miss technical update sessions can always purchase audio and video tapes of the sessions." Scheduling decisions driven by the desire to optimize conference revenue, at the expense of other outcomes, create conditions of *de facto* segregation in this example.

Conclusions and Implications for Research and Practice

There is a paucity of research that investigates CPE from a structural problem-posing rather than an instrumental problem-solving stance. Beyond Cervero and Wilson's contributions to the literature on responsible program planning, and the politics of program planning (1994, 1996, 1998), little has been done to examine association-based CPE for its contribution to social justice as an inseparable component of improvement of practice. Both conference programs and conversations with program coordinators (in mainstream and minority-focused associations) confirmed that sessions are selected and agendas are assembled with some attention to the association's mission, but with an overarching goal of maximizing attendance, hence revenues. And, it appears at least from session titles, that the National (Medical and Bar) Association affiliates experience social justice issues as more central to their practice than do the American (Medical and Bar) Associations.

Returning to the research question, *In what ways, and to what extent do professional associations and their CPE curricula support cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialization to an objectivist view of the professions?* Annual meeting programs reveal a color-blind stance on the part of the AMA and ABA. Placement of the ABA Commission on Race and Ethnicity program as a concurrent offering presents disquieting evidence of the degree to which CPE practitioners are complicit in cultural reproduction. Partially in an attempt to offset asymmetrical power relations, the National (Medical or Bar) Association affiliates offer racially and ethnically sensitive CPE and explicitly promote a social justice agenda through their mission statements and their annual meeting programs. Continuing analysis of both professional association educational programs and membership demographics will help reveal the extent to which the association agendas are "preaching to their own choirs."

Currently, scholar/practitioners engaged in CPE affiliate with organizations within their individual professions, thus dividing the field of CPE among many diverse interests. Clearly,

these results demonstrate that there is a need for a national and international affiliation where CPE providers and researchers can come together to share research findings and practices across professions with the explicit goal of a continuing structural analysis of hegemonic knowledge production through CPE program planning.

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The Role of Continuing Professional Education in Lifelong Learning: THE RRRR Model

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Abstract: Continuing professional education (CPE) is often mandated. The purpose of developing a new model of CPE was to address the shortcomings of current models relative to cultural competency, elements of adult learning and the relationship of content to professional competency. RRRR is an acronym for Reflection, Reciprocal Learning, Research/Resource and Responsibility to society.

Introduction

The purpose of this research paper is to explore the role of continuing professional education (CPE) as an element of adult education.

> The term continuing education is growing in usage in North America…because institutions of higher education use the term continuing education to mean evening and weekend degree-credit offering for adults; the term *continuing* is also associated with professionals staying updated and credentialed (continuing professional education), the term by itself has not caught on as a replacement for adult education. Rather, adult and continuing education seems to be the preferred usage (Merriam and Brockett, 1997, pp.10, 11).

The use of the term continuing education rather than adult education is appealing because it circumvents the definition of adult and separates continuing education from the variety of interpretations associated with adult education. For this paper, continuing professional education is defined as "…the education of professional practitioners, regardless of their practice setting, that follows their preparatory curriculum and extends their learning…throughout their careers" (Queeney, 2000, p. 375).

Continuing professional education will not be examined from the instrumental presentation methods view, rather the authors will examine CPE as a basic tenet of adult education to promote the good of society. CPE will be examined from the perspective of one's commitment to lifelong learning and the professional responsibility to maintain competency in order to serve society in an ethical, legal and proactive manner. Current models for CPE will be examined and a new model proposed. The purpose of developing a new model is to address the shortcomings of current models as they relate to cultural competency, elements of adult learning and the relationship of content to competency.

Professions imply special learning and carry a certain social prestige. They identify a set of values and ethics, standards of practice and standards for education and demonstration of practice skills. The members are expected to place service above personal gain, maintain competency and provide practical services vital to human and social welfare (Kasar and Clark, 2001). Many professionals engage in CPE as a means to advance their careers and/or to improve their financial status, while other professionals engage in CPE for purely altruistic reasons.

Whatever the reason, CPE is a necessary component for growth, enhancement, increased effectiveness, and lastly, staying current.

> CPE that successfully addresses professionals' educational needs enhances their performance abilities, their application of knowledge and skills to the real-life situations that constitute daily practice. Practitioners in any profession can have a wealth of knowledge and highly competent skills, but be unable to use them satisfactorily to solve the problems they encounter day to day (Queeney, 2000, p. 378).

History Of CPE

Changes in technology and the socio-cultural/political environments have hastened an increased need for CPE. Many professional occupations are requiring credentialing, certification and recertification of its members. The need or requirements are numerous and varied.

Apprenticeships and the guild systems of the middle ages set the stage for continuing the education of the skilled practitioner and, as a professional practice, carried over into modern times. CPE was not recognized as "a component of adult education" until the 1960s. It was during this time that "public perception of professional responsibility, accountability and service" came into question by government agencies, consumers, and the professions themselves, prompting a focus on CPE. Professional educators attempted to address the problem by offering the professionals their standard array of lectures and seminars (Queeney, 2000, p. 375).

In some situations, professional associations have developed credentialing systems. In other situations, state legislatures have taken the lead in establishing processes to promote accountability. These processes range from requiring little more than completion of a registration form and periodically paying a fee to completing a specified amount of CPE in a given time period. "By thus contributing to 'certificamania' many groups have promoted the *appearance* of accountability but have done little or nothing to address the underlying issue of competence" (Hodapp in Queeney, 2000, p. 378). CPE is often mandated by the professional organization that credentials or certifies the professional. The time spent and the content of coursework provided is largely determined by the career field. A variety of providers, the profession itself, hospitals (in the case of health care and related careers), formal institutions of higher education, informal community organizations, and governmental and private agencies offer continuing professional education (Merriam and Brockett, 1997, p. 113).

The venue through which this education can occur is also varied. The Internet and the World Wide Web are current technological venues for educational access for individual and group learners. CPE can be offered by teleconferencing or telecomputing (sometimes called virtual classrooms), inspiring a new paradigm for the physical space of the classroom (Merriam and Brockett, 1997, p. 115).

Marketing

> Producing successful CPE almost always requires a team approach, with each member bringing a different set of capabilities to the table. The design, development, and delivery of practice-oriented educational activities means that in addition to having access to content experts, continuing professional educators need partners who can give them an accurate, comprehensive understanding of professionals' work settings and day-to-day practice behaviors and individual concerns. Practice-oriented CPE engages

> participants in interactive problem solving. It also demands objective assessment of practitioner's strengths and weaknesses to help interpret specific educational needs. They also need instructional designers to create a variety of learning activities, and the resources to deliver such programs (Queeney, 2000, p. 379).

A needs assessment should be conducted as a means of identifying professionals' areas of strength and weakness, giving CPE providers data that are useful in determining the content and type of education activities that might contribute to maintaining and enhancing practitioners' competence (Queeney, 2000, p. 380). Based on needs assessments, specific program goals should be established. "To establish a relationship between CPE participants and improved practice, educators must conduct a sound outcome evaluation to determine what, if any, impact CPE has had on the enhancement and improvement of professional practice" (Queeney, 2000, p. 384)

Organizational partnerships involving two or more such groups, enable those concerned with CPE to address professionals' educational needs with solutions that none of them could accomplish independently.

> ...knowing the customer, hunting for a specific niche, communicating with customers, analyzing the competition, becoming a brand maker, making the right offer to the right people at the right time, exploring distribution channels, testing materials, and delivering on promises are all essential to effective CPE marketing (Craven and DuHamel, 2000, p. 56).

The following are identified as key tenets of successful marketing:

1. Identify your target audience. In marketing your program, you must have a specific group of professionals in mind.
2. Define your mission. Why are you offering CPE programs? What is your niche?
3. Assess the needs of your community. Create an advisory committee made up of representatives from employers, community organizations and subgroups of the professionals you serve. Identify your competition. Determine what sets your program apart from programs that target the same audience. Use what you learn to identify factors that distinguish your offering from those of your competitors.
4. Establish your credibility. Conducting well-run, high-quality programs in pleasant surroundings with helpful support staff and knowledgeable speakers will help you develop a track record with your audience.
5. Develop a marketing plan. For most CPE programs, the most useful strategies include (1) a calendar of courses mailed to members of the target audience. (2) announcements in newsletters (3) a Web site with your brochures on-line, and (4) e-mail announcements. Other options include letters of invitation, postcards, public service TV and radio spots.
6. Provide options. Working professionals are pulled in many directions. Look for opportunities to offer content in different formats, such as repeating courses in different locations, teleconferencing to multiple sites, distributing course manuals, or selling recordings of specific lectures.

7. Evaluate your program. Course evaluations are your most important guide to successful future offerings. Invest the staff time needed to summarize evaluations. Use evaluations to identify effective instructors, improve support services, and provide feedback to facilities.
8. Deliver quality programs. "Service is not a competitive edge. It "IS" the competitive edge." If you provide detailed information in promotional materials, including learning objectives, content, benefits of attending, speaker credentials, the schedule of events, catering, parking, professional credit and disability accommodations, both you and your participants will be much happier (Craven and DuHamel, 2000, p. 59).

The required benchmark of any CPE program is that it meets the educational needs of the professionals to whom offerings are directed. The market objective is to present offerings that are based on assessed educational needs, advocacy for each profession, and ultimately, benefit to the public.

Technology has made the delivery of distance education possible, convenient, available in many formats and accessible for those who are comfortable with this new way of learning. It is providing a convenient, cost effective, educationally equal or superior alternative to traditional offerings (Queeney, 2000, p. 387).

CPE cannot solve all problems of professional practice. According to Wedman and Graham (1998):

> a range of performance support strategies should be in place. Their Performance Pyramid suggests that things such as motivation, performance capacity, expectations, environment, and recognition are important factors. These areas require strategies that go beyond the scope of CPE (Wedman and Graham in Queeney, 2000, p. 389).

In conclusion, regardless of how effective any marketing strategy is—how well it is planned---how well it is executed---how well the evaluation results are received, the bottom line is that some form of incentive must be offered. For those who bring the experience, the knowledge, and the skills to the forum, some acknowledgement must be made.

Proposed Model

As education enters the 21st century the demographics of the United States are compelling professions to reorganize the existing educational paradigms, models and practices in professional training, in universities, schools, colleges, industrial training and community education programs. How can the needs of multitudes of lifelong learners of multi-disciplinary backgrounds be met on a human and professional scale with "behind the times" models? How can CPE reach workers for professional retraining? How can CPE verify the most current information and investigate new discoveries continually coming out of "laboratories" and into libraries? What philosophy and ideologies can direct growth in this vast national and global enterprise of capitalistic CPE?

Concerns about the relevance of current models of CPE delivery are many. Of primary importance is the concern about a lack of attention to cultural competency. While much lip service is given to cultural diversity and multiculturalism, the rhetoric often has little relevancy for Afrikana, Asian, Latino(a) and First Nations People. The rhetoric is organized around the

language of deficiency and "otherism." The discourse is Eurocentric and the goals are to provide equality as identified by Eurocentrism. Rarely does the curriculum include a non-Eurocentristic orientation (Cunningham, 1996).

Another concern is a lack of multidisciplinary CPE. "Professional partnerships have replaced professional autonomy, and intra-and interprofessional collaboration, as well as collaboration across work settings, has become a reality that continuing professional educators cannot ignore" (Queeney, 2000, p. 385).

These current concerns urge us to examine the relevancy and the competence of the science of continued professional education and to search for new ways to improve the CPE process. This capitalistic, service industry society is changing and growing culturally, creating a need for cross-cultural and multi-disciplinary teaching models to increase employee and professional competency. In today's society, one of the keys to a successful workplace is a continued professional education model that incorporates cultural competence. Assessment of the specific needs of the company and the workers requires customization of the professional continuing education program. While this customization of the model, curriculum materials, and evaluation instruments are important, time constraints and limited funding often restrict the degree of customization.

THE RRRR Model

As a result of an extensive literature review and subsequent discussions, the authors have developed the RRRR (Reflection, Reciprocal Learning, Research/Resource and Responsibility to society) model for facilitating continuing professional competency. The RRRR Model is a problem-solving formula that works with anyone and any type of business. This model is built on the framework of a workshop or seminar; however, it is designed to specifically encompass cultural competency, elements of adult learning and the relationship of content to practice. The RRRR model is led by a content expert serving as facilitator. The topic can range from broad theoretical concepts to skill specific information and the program is marketed for its topic, considering all factors of location, audience, certifications, professional relevancy and timeliness.

Initially, the facilitator introduces the subject and frames the workshop/seminar for the audience. For this new model to be successful, the audience must be introduced to the subject, general program objectives and the participant's role in interactive learning. The difference between the acquisition of discrete bits of knowledge (facts) and the ability to use new (flexible) knowledge not only to enhance familiar situations, but also to respond effectively to new situations and change is presented and discussed with the participants. The concept of anticipatory knowledge, that knowledge which can be used in novel situations, not anticipated by learner or teacher, should be an emphasized goal (Knapper and Cropley, 2000).

Following the facilitator's introduction of the subject and instruction in the learning format the first R, reflection, is introduced. Reflection is an individual act, with each participant taking time to reflect on their knowledge of and past experiences as a person, a professional and those experiences related to the subject. The participant then reflects on their own learning objectives for this program including what additional knowledge they hope to gain and how this knowledge can be used in the context of their work environment as well as to enhance their professional competency. The competency task force, commissioned by the American Occupational Therapy Association (AOTA), in describing the factors and variables involved in achieving and maintaining professional competence find the overall process to be collaborative and that the individual professional must first be self-directed. AOTA states that "individuals

engage in self-assessment of their current level of competence and then determine what needs to be enhanced and the method to gain such knowledge or skill" (AOTA, 1995, p. 4). In the RRRR model, the authors propose to facilitate the activity of self-assessment and goal identification as it relates to the seminar topic.

The second R refers to reciprocal learning. Following individual reflection and goal setting, groups of individuals gather for small group discussion and sharing of their professional history, the cultural context in which they practice and their professional experiences, both successful and problematic or challenging. The groups are either self-selective or proscribed by the facilitator. To ensure a meaningful, learning experience for all participants, the facilitator must have weighed the options of small group division prior to the program. It is the role of the facilitator to guide the use of "sociocultural" discourse as the basis for this program. In this model, the learning becomes more than a psychological conflux of knowledge, learner, teacher's work, the building of facts. In "sociocultural" discourse, learning is defined as "a function of the transformation of roles that occur as a person participates in, and becomes an experienced member of, a community of learners" (Rogoff in Pratt and Nesbit, 2000, p. 121). The construction of this small group community of learners may be key to an individual learner's success.

The facilitator must be on the alert to maintain focus on the topic of the program. While much rich exchange will take place, it is incumbent on the facilitator to assure that context informs critical reflection without "resulting in a plethora of intensely local, particular, and atheoretically examined practices" (Pratt and Nesbitt, 2000, p. 122). At the appropriate time, the facilitator will transition the participants to the third phase of the RRRR model. This is the resource/research phase. At this time, the individual participant must review what they have learned in the preceding reciprocal learning phase and relate this to their learning objective for the program. They must identify what has not been achieved and through continued discourse with the rest of the participants and the content expert, identify those resources and their own methods of research to obtain this information. As this responsibility for continued learning shifts to the individual learner, the emphasis of the program shifts. The concept of lifelong learning includes "independent thinking, decision making and acceptance of responsibility" ((Dohmen in Knapper and Cropley, 2000, p. 45). This leads to the fourth R, responsibility.

The application of this program's topical information and the encouragement of lifelong learning as a professional behavior should give the participant a sense of responsibility to "think in broad concepts such as the common good, ability to process information constructively, ability to cope with the unexpected and ability in problem-solving and creativity" (Knapper and Cropley, 2000, p. 45). What one learns in the context and situation of this program must be applied. "Teaching something in one context, for application in another, is fraught with problems"(Pratt and Nesbitt, 2000, p. 122). Paulo Freire argues, "action and critical-reflection are inseparable"(Cunningham in Knapper and Cropley, 2000, p. 584). Action or application becomes the important link between theorizing and the real world.

Example

Let us give an example of the application of the RRRR model as used by a supervisor who is receiving complaints from other professionals about the cultural insensitivities and racial overtones of one of their colleagues. The supervisor asks all of the professionals to attend a continuing professional education seminar on multicultural development. The RRRR model will be the seminar format. Using the reciprocal learning tool in the model, the participants share

and learn to understand different multicultural points of view and maybe learn that human beings have some level of equality of knowledge. However, each individual has a different paradigm or lens as it pertains to different cultural and disciplinary views (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999). The RRRR Model was developed to facilitate a personal and professional practice transformation thus creating individuals who can positively contribute to society.

The supervisor wants the participants to go to the CPE cultural development education classes, but we also want the seminar facilitator to have the right things in mind when developing the course of study. When a racist goes to these workshops under some CPE models, racist demeanor might dull a bit so that the most wanton effects of racism are minimized but perhaps only for a short time. To develop active social individuals who can interact within a cross-cultural workplace, some transformation must take place.

The RRRR Models can achieve this affect by implementing reciprocal learning which is inclusive of different cultures and professional disciplines. By incorporating different cultural and professional disciplines in the RRRR Model, there is cultural and multi-disciplinary knowledge seeking and idea sharing.

> Culture is the act of developing the intellectual moral faculties by education, formal, non-formal and self-directed. Culture is also the acquaintance with the taste in fine arts, artifact, humanities, and broad aspects of science as distinguished from the vocational and technical skills. Furthermore, culture is the patterns of human knowledge, belief, and behavior that depend upon man's capacity to customary beliefs, social forms, including but not limited to sex (male or female), homosexuality, and material traits of a racial religious, or social groups (Merriam & Webster, 1990, p. 314).

Cultural change is the modification of a society through innovation, invention and societal discovery or contact with other societies, culture and sub-cultures. The RRRR model inculcates awareness of cultural background and change through reflection and reciprocal learning.

The RRRR Model provides a picture of how facilitators and lifelong learners can view cultural and multi-disciplinary ethical concerns via reflection, reciprocal learning and research causing a transformation that is a foundation for a positive contribution to society. Dependent upon which paradigm the participants bring to the reciprocal learning process, which paradigm the participant can reflect upon, and how the individuals in the reciprocal group view the ethical dilemmas, will give each participant a rich basis for resources and further research. The RRRR Model will also provide an alternative mode of solving the cultural and multi-disciplinary dilemmas via deeper examination.

The RRRR Model can be used for multi-disciplinary professionals, and vocations. One of the powerful mediums for understanding the experiences of "multi-disciplinary" professionals is through idea sharing and knowledge seeking group sessions. Excellent group sessions are timeless because of their ability to speak to the human condition; participants are able to see, feel and hear what the central character experiences. At the transformational encounters/sessions, individuals in the group are sharing ideas that pertain to the direct subject at hand.

Summary

In summary, we have attempted to develop a model that illustrates both the similarities and differences in the individual lives of the participants. However, it is through the sharing of

differences that change can occur. As we talk through differences/change we encounter commonalities and differences that we can research, learn and make a difference for the good of society. The stories of the participants show the sameness of human experience and that everyone forms an identity through experiences.

The RRRR model also demonstrates how socio-cultural factors such as race, gender, ethnicity and class cause people to experience life and professional events in unique ways. Most importantly, these tales (reflections) help us appreciate adult learning, continued professional education and development in adulthood.

Students and facilitators have experienced, developed and worked in multi-disciplinary job positions and participated in competency programs---encouraged by their employers---to stay up to the minute, knowledgeable, reflective and caring citizens in the twenty-first century. To acquire and maintain skills needed for successful citizenship in a multicultural and multi-disciplinary society, students and facilitators must be helped to view United States history, culture and workplace from new and different perspectives.

The RRRR Model acquires new knowledge about U.S. society, and helps CPE participants understand the knowledge obtained as a social construction. "Knowledge is neither neutral nor static; it is culturally based, perspectivistic, dynamic, and changing" (Banks, 1997. p. 13).

The RRRR Model recognizes that "learning goal names our expectation that students will learn how to look at their social world differently, in a way described by Freire, as critical consciousness" (Adams, Bell & Griffin, 1997, p. 265). Another goal of the RRRR model is the recognition of individual influence, institutional or cultural background, as a source for researching new methods of discrimination in their every day environment.

In the United States there is a continuing quandary in societal relations, CPE and discussion between the mainstream and different cultures. This quandary is probably the most important single index for critical human and professional assessment. The RRRR model tries to incorporate idea sharing through cultural relations in a group setting, continued professional education and association as a knowledge seeking exercise. The model and idea sharing is consistent in its objectives as a tool for determining any substantial qualities of an individual, particularly his or her culture and social experiences. Moreover, it is with idea sharing that the model is ultimately concerned. Despite this obvious reliability on the human notion that all societies function as a cultural index, whether it is business, schooling or profession, enclosed in this cultural index is a wealth of knowledge the RRRR Model opens for all to share.

When formulating the RRRR Model for CPE, our goal was for facilitators to be cognizant of the cultural, societal and pedagogical constraints in education. In addition, facilitators should realize that the RRRR Model is vitally important for today's students to develop a sophisticated understanding of their roles in the United States and the world community.

Professional continued education facilitators should have major goals of helping students develop an understanding of the interdependence among cultures in the modern world, developing clarified attitudes toward other cultures, and developing a reflective identification with the national and world community. Facilitators with an understanding of continued professional education and the RRRR Model would attempt to help students develop more sophisticated, professional, cultural understanding and identification, which should cause a "trigger event" and result in a transformation.

The goal of businesses and facilitators should not be merely to educate students of the culture of the mainstream student to fit into the existing workforce, social structure and society.

> Such an education would be adverse to students from different cultural groups because it would force them to experience self-alienation. It would fail to incorporate their voices, experiences, and perspectives. This kind of un-dimensional, assimilationist education would also create problems for the citizenship and national identity of youth of color. By forcing them to experience an education, sponsored by the state, that does not reflect their cultures and experiences, the message would be sent that they are not an integral part of the nation-state and national culture. To develop a clarified national identity and commitment to the nation-state, groups and individuals must feel that they are integral parts of the nation-state and national culture (Banks, 1997, p. 13).

Continued professional education in today's society must be embedded in the business and educational institutions. CPE is a tool to develop the knowledge, attitudes and skill needed to participate within but also to help transform and reconstruct society to maintain, without bias, ever growing and changing cultural relations and associations.

Problems such as racism, sexism, poverty and inequality are widespread in United States society and permeate many of the nation's institutions, such as the workforce, the courts, and the schools.

> To educate future citizens merely to fit into and not to transform society would result in the perpetuation and escalation of these problems, including the widening gap between the rich and the poor, racial conflict and tension, and the growing number of people who are victims of poverty and homelessness (Banks, 1997, p. 13).

New information, new methods of communication, new technologies continue to develop. We must insist upon participation in the development of solutions to the problems faced in maintaining professional competency. Lindeman's advice seems appropriate to this endeavor.

> This means giving more attention to small groups; it means as much decentralization, diversity and local autonomy as is consistent with order. Indeed, we may well sacrifice order, if enforced externally, for valid difference. Our hopes flow from the simple conviction that diversity is more likely to make life interesting than is conformity, and from the further conviction that active participation in interesting affairs furnishes proper stimulations for intellectual growth. (Lindeman, 1989, p. 89)

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Crisis in Social Services: A Critical Analysis of Latina(o)s and Social Services

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Abstract: The purpose of this study was to determine: (1) whether members of the Latina(o) community were aware of existing social services in their respective communities; (2) what barriers, if any, existed to access those social services; and (3) was social service delivery equitable. This paper provides a synopsis of the crisis facing Latina(o)s in social services.

Castex (1994) notes that many social workers are uncertain about what to expect when providing services to the culturally diverse group of clients known as Hispanics or alternatively, as Latina(o)s. People trained to approach ethnicity solely from a perspective that stresses cultural transmission as the primary element in ethnic group formation may lack the analytical tools necessary to understand this group's behaviors and strategies.

A review of the literature indicated that Hispanics are a very diverse group, however, it does not emphasize enough that there are socially important differences and similarities that can affect the delivery of service. As a large marginalized group that continues to grow rapidly, indicators such as age distribution and income levels indicate an increasing need for social services. According to Castex (1994), social workers need to consider the many features and issues deriving from the Hispanic clients' ethnic status, in addition to the clients' individual needs. Practitioners should prepare intellectually, emotionally and clinically in anticipation of serving the Hispanic client. Important factors when interacting with the Hispanics include national origin, language usage, religion, racial ascription and immigration or citizenship status. Hardy-Fanta (1984) states that group work with Hispanics must be part of a total service delivery system that addresses the problems identified by a community needs assessment. She further notes that Hispanics are not coming to social work groups only in part due to practitioners' lack of attention to cultural values and organizational obstacles, but that they are also not coming because social workers were/are offering the wrong kinds of groups! Difficulties in forming and working with Hispanic groups stem from four sources: 1) a failure to perceive group service as part of an overall community system; 2) inappropriate goals that limits the type of group service; 3) inattention of cultural factors in recruitment and methods; and 4) policies of social workers that result in clients' needs being defined as whatever the agency offers as services.

Delgado & Barton (1998) state that a strengths perspective stresses five key elements for social work practice: 1) unquestioned respect for a client's abilities, innate resources, and perspectives; 2) use of strengths as a central theme in any intervention; 3) stress on collaboration among clients, their communities and providers; 4) avoidance of using a mind-set throughout a professional relationship; and 5) use of indigenous community resources whenever possible in assessment and development of intervention. According to Delgado (1998), Hispanics who live in public housing seem particularly poorly connected. Barriers related to geographical, culture, operational and psychological factors severely limit getting help.

Human service agencies providing services to a large number of Hispanic clients are slowly recognizing the need to employ bilingual, preferably bicultural staff (Delgado, 1979). He further notes that in the process of hiring Hispanic staff, administrators fail to consider

potential institutional and community obstacles to effective service delivery. If agencies are to reach the Hispanic community, they must continue to hire Hispanic staff in increasing numbers. Common obstacles in the delivery of service encountered by Hispanic staff in non-Hispanic settings can be classified in four areas: 1) agency hiring practices; 2) excessive demands by agency and community; 3) lack of adequate orientation and training; and 4) testing-out by agency and community.

When such agencies do not hire enough bilingual/bicultural staff to adequately provide services to a large Hispanic clientele, the Hispanic staff will inevitably "burn-out" and the agency suffers the consequence of having to go without adequate delivery of service and in a prompt manner, until he/she finds a replacement. In the meantime, the Hispanic clientele will lack prompt service because this non-English speaking client has to wait in line until the interpreter is free to provide interpretation. Secondly, a lack of equitable services because the Hispanic client had to allow people behind him/her in the line because they did not need a translator and therefore these other people can go ahead of him/her. This however, can mean hours at a time if the availability of translators is limited. Who's problem is it? The agency's? The Hispanic client's problem? Agencies need to recognize that Hispanics are here and that they are not going anywhere - they are here to stay. And, as more continue to migrate, it is important for agencies to acknowledge that they have a responsibility to provide equitable services to the community members. In essence they should consider hiring practices that are reflective and representative of the clientele they service.

Who are Hispanics/Latinos?

The U.S. government defined and formally created the Hispanic ethnic group on May 4, 1978. According to the Office of Management and Budget (1978), a Hispanic is a person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race (p. 19269). This definition focuses on the countries of origin and assumes that people from those countries have a common Spanish culture. People in the United States share in the ascription of Hispanic, however, they may prefer to be referred as Latino or Latina.

Hispanics come from 26 nations according to the federal definitions. There are significant differences among these nationalities: the language, economic resources, educational systems, status structures and customs vary dramatically from country to country. The historical experiences of each country with the United States and the European colonialists are very different and can affect the ethnic self-identification of clients.

Practitioners working with Hispanic clients should not assume that because the client looks Mexican that they are Mexican or of Mexican descent and that they speak Spanish - the Mexican dialect of the universal language of Spanish. Instead they should consider asking the client: What is the client's nationality? Is the client a member of an ethnic group within that nationality?

There is a tremendous need for service providers to: (1) become familiar with the history and migration of the group; (2) identify formal or informal providers of services directed towards members of national group, i.e., religious, civic, organizations, political organizations and political officeholders. It is best to find out which language enables the client to best communicate, and be sensitive to the possibility that people who are in crisis may have difficulties communicating in their native, second or third language. Assumptions are often made regarding family names. Utilizing surnames as indicators of ethnicity is totally absurd. Social workers should not make any assumptions about language use based on family name but

should inquire about language use, ethnic status, or recent heritage based on a family name. It would be helpful to ask how to pronounce or spell a name. Be mindful that persons in the same household may have different surnames (married names may have no legal standing, extended families may include aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents, grandchildren, godchildren and godparents, all living together). Keep in mind that some people may not choose to use their legal name for fear of immigration authorities.

The literature identified the following values as characteristic of most Latina(o) populations in the United States: (1) Allocentrism, a focus on intergroup and intragroup harmony, with an avoidance of conflict or confrontation; (2) loyalty and an attachment to one's nuclear and extended family; (3) a preference for closeness in interpersonal space; (4) a flexible time orientation, with an emphasis on the here and now rather than on the future; and (5) traditional male/female gender role expectations.

Mexican Americans make up 41.7 % of the Latina(o) population according to the Census Bureau, 2001. The original population of Mexican Americans did not enter the United States voluntarily but were conquered during the Mexican War. Mexican Americans have long since been oppressed by Anglo society. For over a century, the Mexican Americans have experienced domination, oppression and exploitation by Anglo society. Mexican Americans continue to be targets of prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination. Although waves of Mexican immigrants have entered the United States voluntarily since the initial conquest, they have been subjected to the same discriminatory practices.

Barriers in Accessing Services

Social workers need to be culturally competent in working with the Latina(o) population. They must have adequate knowledge, values and skills necessary to work with this population according to Gutierrez, Yeakley and Ortega (2000). Latina(o)s are a population at risk for poverty, poor health and mental health as well as other problems according to social science knowledge and census data. Latina(o)s have an overrepresentation in agencies of social control such as the criminal justice system, low levels of education and a high rate of unemployment.

If the challenges of this growing population are to be met, social workers must engage this group in more effective ways to ensure equitable delivery of service and to meet their needs. According to Castex (1994) social workers must be conscious of the socially important differences and similarities among Hispanics and how these differences and similarities may affect the provision of services. She further notes that the prime features often regarded as ethnically significant and certainly important when interacting with clients included (but are not limited to) national origin, language, family name, religion, racial ascription and immigration or citizenship status.

The literature indicates that one of the major factors in Latinos not accessing services is the language barrier. Because the individuals may have limited non-English speaking skills, they decline reaching out to seek much needed services. As a consequence, this marginalized group would be underserved. Another factor identified by the literature is the lack of knowledge of available services. Evidently social service agencies are not engaging in effective measures of reaching the Latina(o) Community and will inevitably under serve this community and will lack equitable service delivery.

Research Questions

This topic of Latina(o)s and social services is a very broad topic and could focus on many different facets. Issues such as mental health, education, IDHS, homelessness, and a variety of other facets of Latinos and social services. However, for the purpose of this particular pilot study, this paper will focus on the following questions regarding the Latina(o) Community in the Aurora area: 1) How informed is the Latina(o) Community of area social services? 2) What are the barriers in accessing these services? 3) Are area social services providing equitable services amongst the community as a whole? 4) How can area social services better reach the Latino
Community.

Research Concerns

Assumptions:

It is this researcher's assumptions that the Aurora area Latina(o) Community would not under utilize the social services in the community if they were informed of such services. The Latina(o) Community is no different than any other community in the area and they have crises and needs that need to be met just like any other community. However, it is this researcher's assumptions that the Latina(o) Community lacked knowledge of available services due to language barriers, lacking transportation and having concerns with their legal status here in the United States and how that may be affected by reaching out for help. This researcher further assumes that if the Latina(o) Community was informed of services they would know that in some agencies, their legal status is not an issue for receiving assistance. That if area social service agencies collaborated in their efforts to reach out to the Latina(o) Community, this community would receive more equitable services. Area social services would more effectively provide for the delivery of their services and the Latina(o) Community would more efficiently be served. In essence meeting the needs of this marginalized group.

Limitations

There are several limitations with this pilot study. A major limitation is that the Latina(o) Community being studied in the Aurora area may not be representative of other Latina(o) Communities in other areas. The sample is a random sample and is conducted at an area Catholic Church. This particular church has about 98% Latina(o) parishioners and services are conducted in Spanish. It is anticipated that the parishioners are mostly Spanish speaking with limited English speaking skills. However, children of the adults may be fluent in their English skills and these children may be the ones that fill out the surveys for their parents. The survey questionnaires were translated into Spanish, and were designed with closed/open-ended questions. English questionnaires were also available upon request. However, there is a possibility that this may have left room for participants to manipulate his/her answers in the self-report. Participants may fear releasing information because of the different issues that are relevant to the Latina(o) Community, adults may rely on their small children to act as an interpreter and fill out the survey allowing for misinterpretation of the questions and answers. Also, this study was conducted at a church breakfast social and participants may feel that taking time out to fill out a survey at a family time may be a nuisance and a bother and not take the time to fill it out accurately. Furthermore, participants may feel that there is no incentive for

participating (e.g. a prize, if you will) and/or in any way advantageous for them to participate this survey. What will be gained from doing this?

Methodology

This was a pilot study that focused on the Aurora area Latina(o) Community and how informed this community was regarding area social services and barriers in accessing those services. Information was gathered via survey. Surveys were translated into Spanish and the study was conducted in Spanish. The survey was designed to produce the most demographical information regarding this community and their knowledge of area social services.

Delgado and Delgado (1986) state that human services providers need to gain entree to the Latina(o) Community as a first step in the needs assessment process. Assessment with Hispanics can define needed services, help develop programs, identify areas of interagency cooperation, and respond to funding and accountability realities. Jonathan Bradshaw identified four conceptually useful perspectives to consider when investigating people's needs: 1) normative need; 2) felt need; 3) expressed need; and 4) comparative need. Language and cultural barriers may deter Hispanics/Latina(o)s from seeking services and thereby expressing need. Gutierrez, Yeakley and Ortega (2000) state that social workers must have adequate knowledge, values, and skills necessary to work with Latinos. Social workers must figure out ways to engage this group more effectively and better serve their needs. Burnette (1999) states the lack of knowledge is a major barrier to service use.

This pilot study used a quantitative design with nominal measurement. The demographical information gathered such as gender, age, family size, income levels, etc. was coded. Gutierrez, Yeakley and Ortega (2000) state that in 1997 Mexican American made up 63% of the Latina(o) population and 29% of these Latin(a)os were living in poverty. They further state that social workers need to understand the traumatic issues that immigrants may face as a result of the conditions they left behind. Anti-immigration attitudes might cause immigrants to be fearful of using social services regardless of their citizenship status (Shuit, 1996).

Social workers need to be sensitive to the clients' distrust of public officials. Social workers need to increase their knowledge of eligibility for services. Many Latina(o)s already face barriers in accessing services due to language and cultural differences. Social workers need to understand the special issues that Latina(o)s face to provide effective services according to Gutierrez, Yeakley, and Ortega (2000) .

The questions in the survey attempted to determine how informed the Latin(a)o Community was regarding area social services and the barriers in accessing the services. Ideally, if this study could be conducted in various churches and conducted in a longer period of time, the results could be invaluable to area social services and serve as a foundation for further study in any facet of this research project. However, because of time constraints and the conservative characteristics of the Latina(o) Community, the goal of this research was to collect 100 surveys.

Arrangements were made with the parish priest of St. Nicholas Church to conduct the study, and April 1st was the designated date. St. Nicholas Church has a breakfast social every first of the month and Father David felt that this would be the ideal time to conduct the survey. The announcement was on the agenda of the church bulletin three weeks prior to the study. All Latina(o) parishioners were encouraged to participate in the study. The parishioners were Latina(o)s or of Latina(o) descent. Spanish would be their first language, however, individuals

could be bilingual. The surveys were in Spanish, and an English version was available upon request, however, only the Spanish questionnaires were distributed. Five paid staff personnel were available to provide assistance to the participants. The parish hall is where the breakfast social occurred and the researcher with her staff placed surveys and pencils at every table. Announcements were made periodically during the period the survey was conducted, encouraging individuals/families to participate in the survey and as well as advising them that staff was available to assist them if they desired. The researcher and staff visited every table to encourage participants to complete the survey and offer them assistance, if needed, to complete the survey. The process continued throughout the time that the survey was being conducted. The researcher and staff were bilingual and all dialogue occurred in Spanish. At no time was any one approached and spoken to in English. The researcher and staff were Mexican or of Mexican descent with Spanish as their first language and/or bilingual with English being their first language.

This study addressed independent variables, including knowledge of services, barriers in accessing services, meeting Latina(o) Community needs, and the equitability of delivery of services to the Latina(o) Community. This study further notes that if these concerns specific to the Latino Community were being met or provided for, the utilization of services would be greater and the delivery of services more equitable. Information was gathered via a questionnaire with opened/closed-ended questions as well as demographics. This study was conducted with the permission of the church priest and participants were randomly approached. Initially, this researcher had reservations conducting this survey due to familiarity with the characteristics of the Latina(o) people, and their specific fears and conservative/private demeanor. Hispanics do not turn to more formal sources for assistance until they have tried their natural support systems. These support systems are their extended families, folk healers, churches, social clubs and merchants according to Delgado and Delgado (1986), and with Latina(o)s relying on a proven system in meeting their needs, they might have been reluctant to participate in the study.

This survey was motivated by the researcher's experience at her first year's internship at a local government agency. In the span of nine months, only one Latino individual had applied for services at the agency. The supervisor was asked why Latina(o)s were not applying for assistance like their counterparts? It was possible that they were unaware of the services, and if so, what could be done to inform them. Under the guidance of my professor, this researcher developed the questionnaire to gather demographics and specific information regarding knowledge of area services, barriers and how better to inform this community. The questionnaire was presented in class and the professor as well as student colleagues provided the researcher with critique, ideas and changes as a basis for improving the survey questionnaire.

In researching the community for possible studies that may have been conducted in the past, the researcher discovered two studies that have been done. The first was done by the Kane County Health Department, emphasis was on Access to Primary Care, Child Abuse/Neglect and Suicide/Prevention. This study was conducted in August of 1999 and the targeted population was the Kane County community as a whole. The other study was conducted by St. Nicholas Catholic Church's nurse, Ms. Maricela Perez. This study was conducted in June of 1999 and the issues/concerns addressed were Depression, Arthritis, Diabetes, High Blood Pressure, Heart Disease and Cancer. The targeted population was the Latina(o) parishioners of St. Nicholas Church. This particular survey was conducted in Spanish.

Ms. Perez stated that when she conducted her study, it yielded 700 plus participants! The Kane County Health Department staff was quite surprised of the outcome. The question being pondered here is how did Ms. Perez do it? To understand how Ms. Perez got so many Latina(o)s to participate in the study is to know the Latina(o) Community people. The Latina(o) Community knows and trusts her and they know that anything that this person engages them in will be advantageous for them in some way. Latina(o) people are very private and gaining entry into that community is a key factor in learning, understanding and providing effective services (Delgado and Delgado, 1986).

The Latina(o) community lacks awareness of the services available in the community. This is consistent with the literature that states that a major factor in Latina(o)s not accessing services is because of lack of knowledge. If the percentages of being unaware of services was 44%, combined with not knowing the location of the agency was 23%, this provides us with a better picture of 67% of the participants who do not know where to go for services.

The literature states that since research began on Latina(o)s, this factor of barriers in accessing services has been an issue throughout and since the early 1970s when researchers began studying Latinos. What does this say about our social service system and their lack of initiative regarding effective measures in reaching the Latina(o) community? How than can Latina(o)s emerge and rise above poverty and oppression and be a viable part of society when they do not receive effective equitable assistance? As a rapidly growing marginalized group, it is imperative for the social service system to take more interest in adequately providing the delivery of services. If this does not occur, this marginalized group will continue to be crippled and become a greater burden to society as a whole. However, with this vastly growing "minority," society should keep in mind that this group of people would be the individuals who will be the supporting pillars of the retired Anglo society in the not so distant future. A thought to ponder!

Although only 43 participated in the survey, one can infer from the information collected that there is a need for more research. However, this pilot study can serve as a foundation for further research in the Aurora area and the Latina(o) Community. The information provided in this study is consistent with the literature and indicates that the Latina(o) is underserved. The Latina(o) Community has been and continues to be underserved by social service agencies. The Latina(o) Community has consistently continued to grow at a rate that surpasses their counterparts and this is an indication that a collaborative effort of area social service agencies needs to occur in order to provide equitable services and meet this population's needs.

Not only should area social service agencies come together to more effectively service this population but institutions of higher education should take the initiative to incorporate content on Latina(o)s in their social work curriculum. Social worker professionals graduating with their BSWs or MSWs may feel theoretically prepared to take on the challenge of servicing mainstream America, however they may learn when encountering Latina(o)s that they lack substantial knowledge in providing effective quality service.

Latina(o)s as a diverse group manage to have much diversity amongst themselves because of the people that the term Latina(o) umbrellas. People come from different Latin countries, with different customs, distinct dialect of this universal language we call Spanish. Some word usage is very distinct in meaning depending on what Latin country you are from. Sometimes the same word may have adverse meaning and when social workers do not know, they may offend the client. Social workers focusing on providing services in the mental health field will be

challenged with the fact that theories that would effectively assist mainstream clients will pose a challenge when servicing Latina(o)s.

The literature challenges social work professionals to be conscious of misdiagnosing Latino clients because of language barriers and/or utilizing an interpreter inappropriately. The interpreter may lack the skill to effectively translate when conducting an assessment and/or during counseling sessions. Literature identifies the language barrier as a major factor in deterring clients in seeking services. This is a cycle that is a common scenario for Latina(o)s. Unfortunately, it is one that will continue if higher learning institutions do not take the initiative to provide adequate training for their graduating professionals. Without adequately trained professionals, the future looks bleak and the Latina(o) people will continue to be underserved, provided with poor quality service and/or no service. I agree with Delgado and Delgado (1982) that Latina(o) people tend to seek help from their extended families, folk healers, religious institutions and merchants/social clubs before seeking any formal resources. Could this be because it is part of their culture, their way of life or is it because past experiences have dictated the lack of quality, effective and equitable services. Thus, it should come as no surprise that Latina(o)s will seek formal services as a last resort (Delgado and Delgado, 1982).

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WOMEN ON THE GROUND, MAKING MEANING OF HIV AND AIDS: IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATION IN COMMUNITY BASED HEALTH PROMOTION

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Abstract: This inquiry provides a venue for the unheard and unrepresented voices in the public health HIV and AIDS discourse. The inquiry presents the voices of ordinary African American women and offers new insights to the meaning they've created of the virus. The dominant AIDS discourse fails to address issues of economic injustice, gender and race, obscuring the deep-rooted structures, which drive the explosive growth of AIDS among the poor, particularly African American women. This research lifts the missing voices and provides a rich descriptive and critical analysis of the ways in which HIV and AIDS has shaped the lives of these African American women most vulnerable to the epidemic.

Background

I began this work because I wanted to capture and explore the beliefs, attitudes, experiences and perceptions of HIV and AIDS among ordinary African American women. Furthermore through this inquiry I sought to reveal innovative and untried approaches to HIV and AIDS education and prevention by exploring the context, i.e., the community, the norms, values and the social construction of meaning of AIDS and HIV among the women who reside in a Chicago Public Housing project.

My fundamental goal in undertaking this inquiry was to help us better understand the lives of ordinary poor women vis-à-vis the peril of HIV and AIDS among African American women. I sought to understand how women actively participate in creating meaning of the HIV/AIDS experience, through an in-depth exploration of their daily lived experiences as told by women with their daughters, families and friends. Moreover, African-American women create meaning through their interactions with black civil society, institutions, communication networks and culturally-based practices that help African-Americans respond to economic, social and political challenges confronting them in the ordinary places of life. My purpose is to provide a critical "womanist" framework to understand the experiences of the African-American women in the context of their communities. A critical perspective means that we do not blindly accept commonly touted explanations for the way things are. It requires that we examine the assumptions, values and ideologies that are used to justify our attitudes toward African American women, especially the poor and welfare recipients and the organization of the health care system, particularly HIV/AIDS education and prevention. Power relationships are at the heart of critical theory, which suggests that social and political arrangements often favor the dominant group, or the elite within society. Yet these arrangements are presented as 'normal' and as reflecting the best interests of all members of society, rich and poor alike. A womanist perspective, suggests that there is no universal monolithic women's experience on which to base health education and prevention practice. Women who are socially, economically and politically marginalized and oppressed by the dominant female norms and the controlling images of African American

women in the dominant culture, have had very different experiences from women in the mainstream who are valued differently by the dominant society.

An examination of the lived experiences of African American women reveals that there is no universal and common women's essence, shared by all women, but rather there are deep divisions in what different women have experienced, and the kinds of knowledge they discover when they examine their own experiences. The "womanist" perspective is grounded in the concrete lived experiences of African American women. Alice Walker (1983) in defining what distinguishes 'womanism' from feminism is its potential utility to oppressed people and provides a moral imperative and a standpoint on society that grows from their situation of oppression. This standpoint emerges as foundation for a more humanistic, equitable and just society. Womanists are committed to survival and wholeness of an entire people, male and female. It is through the "voices" of these ordinary women that we can come to know the experiences and knowledge systems of peoples outside of the dominant discourse. It was in 1903 that W.E.B. Du Bois wrote in The Souls of Black Folk that the African American, "ever feels his two-ness...two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings" (1953), p.5). Du Bois's concept of double consciousness in the case of African American women is not just a state of marginalization and exclusion, but as an elevated place where one can see and understand positions of inclusion and exclusion—margins and centers. Du Bois's double consciousness applies to any "othered" people, who are constructed outside of the dominant paradigm. It is clear from the dominant HIV and AIDS treatment and prevention discourses that representations of the voices of African American women are outside of the dominant discourses.

Voice as understood in contemporary qualitative inquiry is drawn from the literary analysis of social science texts and involves importing conceptual tools from literary criticism and studying the nature, form and structure of narrative, known as narratology into the social science discourse. "Voice" in this discourse is the set of textual signs that characterized the narrative in a text. Identifying signs of first-person narratives or third-person narratives is part of this notion. Voice includes analysis of all aspects of a text that provide information about who the narrator is, who "speaks" (Genette, 1980). The associations between voice, authority and the representation of social and natural phenomenon are a central concern in the literary turn in the social sciences. In this research I employ the multivoiced, dialogic text, to decenter the monological voice of authority assigned to the field researcher who writes as if s/he is reproducing social reality in an ethnographic account. My intention is to avoid the monological trap and illuminate the connection between "who speak" "who hears," and what is "voiced" and the politics of voice as seen in how women's voices have been silenced or at best ignored in the public health HIV and AIDS discourses. I seek in hearing and listening to these multiple voices, a way to offer a more authentic representation of indigenous and community knowledge.

This inquiry presented in dialogical voices among African American women, through the lens of critical social theory and a "womanist" standpoint examines the meaning, experience and knowledge of HIV/AIDS in the lives of poor women residing in public housing on the south side of Chicago.

The Setting

In December, I began to work with a group of residents on the south side of Chicago. The site of this work is a public housing Project on the south side of the city, called Lowden Homes. Lowden Homes is bordered by Princeton Homes, to the north 95th street to the south, Wentworth Avenue to the east and the railroad tracks occupying the street formerly known as

Eggleston Avenue to the west. The 128 units in 17 buildings face 95th Street, the main arterial street. 95th Street is home to largely commercial properties that serve the needs of people in transit from the El Station and connecting CTA bus routes. There are many fast food eateries, convenience groceries, daycare, local Dr's office and the mainstay in all low-income neighborhoods in Chicago, the local Currency Exchange. Pedestrian activity is high in the area due to the mass transit and the residents of both Lowden and Princeton Homes. Lowden Homes, named for former Governor of Illinois, Frank O. Lowden sits on 9 1/2 acres of land, home for more than 128 families in seventeen buildings of row houses, of masonry construction and concrete floors throughout.

Research Questions

The overarching questions that organize this inquiry are related to meaning and how meanings are communicated across generations, between mothers and daughters. How have HIV and AIDS been socially constructed among African American women at greatest risk, the poor? How has HIV and AIDS affected communication between mothers and daughters about sex and related risks?

Methodology

In this study I query African American women about how HIV and AIDS have shaped their sexual lives. And through the injection of a womanist standpoint integrate my experiential knowledge drawn from a shared history as 'other;' derived from a common history of oppression, a new discourse is surfaced. I believe, as eloquently stated by Fanon (1968) that ultimately liberation will come from a new person with a new discourse. In listening to the voices of African American women, new strategies for controlling and retarding the spread of the virus can be discerned. In this critical ethnography the pivotal role of historical, social, and economical situations frame the analysis of the subject, i.e., the health knowledge, attitudes and behavior among poor African American women in the midst of an HIV and AIDS epidemic. Given the nature of the knowledge sought, I determined that the most appropriate means of gathering the voices was through in person face-to-face interviews with mothers and daughters residing at Lowden Homes.

For this ethnographic investigation, the three aspects of data transformation advanced by Wolcott (1994) were applied: description, analysis and interpretation of the culture-sharing group. For Wolcott (1994) ethnography, begins with a detailed description of the culture-sharing group and the setting.

Through the interview process a "holistic" overview of the context in which women construct their meaning of HIV and AIDS is revealed. The extent to which meaning is informed by personal lived experiences and the role that the public health discourse represented in media is examined. In these interview I capture knowledge about the perceptions of grandmothers, mothers and daughters "from the inside," through a dialogic interview process. Eleven families participated in this study, comprising three triads consisting of a grandmother, her daughter and her granddaughter (9) and eight dyads, mother and daughter.

Findings

The women's voices are framed in three thematic categories (1) how women come to know about HIV and AIDS, (2) the impact of HIV and AIDS on these families and (3) how do women come to know about sex. The analysis explicates the ways women in this setting come to

understand, account for, take action, and otherwise manage their day-to-day sexual lives vis-à-vis the peril of HIV and AIDS.

African American Women: Mothers and Daughters

When we think about our childhood and our growing up years, for most of us our first teacher was our mother. We learned about the world through our mother's eyes. For many of us, images we have of ourselves have been externally predefined and these controlling images no less influence our mothers. The sexual choices we make are influenced by an array of factors: genetic makeup, childhood environment, cultural values and exposure to different ideas are among the factors. It is through our childhood experiences that we first get a glimpse of our mother's worldview and, on some level, those first glimpses shape our lives in lasting and meaningful ways.

It is not uncommon to find that daughters are not openly informed about their development as women, about menstruation, and sexuality. How do we learn about these things? Many women fill in these blanks with peer talks and experimentation. Mothers and daughters rarely talk about what to do, when confronted with sexual choices or what not to do in our sexual relationships. Relationships with our mothers affect how we relate to our daughters, other women, men and indeed how we view life in general.

African American women find themselves in a unique social, cultural dilemma, where our sexuality is further complicated by racist, sexist stereotypes that cause conflicted feelings about being sexual; thus, open communication between mothers and daughters is often inhibited by the haunting controlling images. In slavery, the slave owner, who raped Black women on impulse, then justified their behavior by labeling Black women as sexually insatiable, and thus controlled black women's sexuality. Women then resisted this image by desexualizing themselves as mammies or repressed religious zealots. Still today, Black women struggle with the stereotypical, controlling image of the promiscuous oversexed, or sexually precocious woman (Collins, 1991).

How Do We Come To Know This...

The pivotal questions in this inquiry revolve around how these African American mothers and daughters understand and make their own meaning of HIV and AIDS. The questions that began to unravel the meanings for these women were when, what, where and how they came to know about HIV and AIDS. Here the contexts in which they first learn and the initial meanings it had were of paramount interests. It became apparent during the course of these interviews that women had not given the context of their knowledge much thought but when questioned they were very thoughtful and deliberate in capturing their contextual feelings, beliefs and attitudes about AIDS.

The daughters and granddaughters are the best informed of the women participants in the study. They seem to have gotten their information early and for many, before they became sexually active. These young women understood the behavior that places women at risk of HIV. They came to know AIDS through school based prevention and education, through the media safe-sex promotion. They had also heard the warnings from their mothers and grandmothers. Their access to the means to practice safer sex was readily available in contrast to their mothers and grandmothers, who experienced far more pressure to be unassertive in negotiating safer sex. In spite of the superior knowledge these young women have about HIV and AIDS and the associated risks, only two of the ten daughters and granddaughters reported consistently

practicing safe sex. One of the two had no children and the other reported that her pregnancy was planned. But for the others, their first pregnancy was not planned.

One of the differences between the granddaughters and daughters is that the conspiracy theories of some externally government-based plot were operating to undermine the health of African Americans and were ostensibly missing in their stories. What seems to be operating with the younger women are the oppressive controlling images, where women struggle with asserting their wishes to protect themselves sexually, out of fear of being viewed as sexually precocious or even worst sexually dominant. Nevertheless, these young women were confident in their knowledge of HIV and AIDS. Each generation's voice reflects an evolving acceptance of HIV and AIDS in African American communities and for some a 'head in the sand' approach seems to be the mode of resistance or least resistance. The next chapter describes the impact the disease has had on the families of the 'women on the ground.'

How Do We Come To Know Sex...

Gender is a critical determinant of the degree to which women are regarded and treated as objects of sex, but their race, ethnicity and class are also important. By most measures the lower the woman's status, the more likely she is a target for sexual exploitation. How do women participate in the exploitation? Among the women participating in this study, the normalcy associated with sexual naiveté, powerlessness, and yes, submissiveness, sets women up for the differential power relationship between men and women. The controlling images often ascribed to poor African-American women would have us believe that women are sexually very knowledgeable and certainly aggressive, always pleasure seeking sexual beings, which may pressure them to be more sexually savvy and compelled to live the stereotype, i.e., in order to get a man interested in them. Hence young African American girls face a double-edged sword. The means by which African-American women are most vulnerable is an area in which women are least informed.

Historically in our communities, women learned how to attend to their health and their families' health through the modeling and knowledge passed down across generations, mothers to daughters and so on. A barrier to the transference of knowledge appears when social approval of the behaviors and practices are not extended. Sexual behavior and practice is one such social activity. Mothers don't talk to their daughters about sex and the risks associated with sexual behavior and, more importantly, how their daughters can protect themselves. So, women learn by experimentation and subject their bodies, hence their lives, to a high-stakes gamble. And this fear and anxiety associated with life and death stakes for women is normal. We are no longer able to maintain such complacency about sexual behavior. Trial and error is no longer a viable choice for African-American women.

When women were asked about their knowledge of sex and how they acquired it, some of the women's voices are presented. To my query, "did your mother talk to you about sex? Tell me about those sex talks," these are the voices of grandmothers recalling their own experiences with sex and their mothers. Their stories reveal an introduction to sex filled with dread, fear and ignorance about their bodies' oblivious to their powers and control over their sexual choices. These women grew up in an era where men dominated the sexual lives of women and women were ignorant by design of their bodies and their ability to control it.

Conclusion and Implications

The construction of meaning of HIV and AIDS for these African American Women, as with us all, are shaped by an array of factors rooted in social cultural history, the daily lived experiences with the virus and the legacy of our mothers' view of the world. For these women how they come to know the virus and the family's direct experience creates meaning of AIDS in their lives.

For adult education practitioners seeking authentic ways to help African American women live less vulnerable lives we cannot continue to view the "targets" of disease control, education and prevention initiatives as generic community models devoid of social, cultural and historical context. Communities are not interchangeable and what works for white gay men or white women, or for that matter African American men cannot effectively work for African American women. There is no generic HIV and AIDS education and prevention program for African American women. Our focus must center on the social meaning of AIDS for the particular contexts in which women are socially located.

In the design and implementation of such initiatives we must make space in the discourses for the voices of "women on the ground." Listening creates the space for the voices. I set out to "listen into voice" the women on the ground and create a space in the HIV and AIDS discourse for the unheard stories and myriad meanings ascribed to the virus revealed in the everyday lived experiences of poor African American women. The implication for adult education in community based health promotion are three fold: 1) Prevention and health promotion programs must be grounded in the lives of the people, i.e., their social location. HIV prevention that does not address the attitudes, perceptions and behaviors arising from homophobia in African American communities will not be effective; 2) Create, support and facilitate consciousness raising and collective resistance among the women on the ground at Lowden Homes. Social change emergences from political acts and heightened consciousness is the beginning of the change process; 3) Create a place and space for women to learn and share their lived experiences across and within generations. The facilitation of communication around the sexual lives of women is paramount to resistance and the attendant change in the lives of poor women.

In summary, adult education efforts in communities of color that bring resources to enhance, support and facilitate consciousness raising and collective resistance among the people on the ground have the greatest potential to initiate social change. The goal of our work in communities such as Lowden Homes is politicization of the populace in place.

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